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CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER I

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND JUNIOR STUDENTS

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF TACITUS; AND HIS TREATMENT OF THIS PART OF HIS SUBJECT.

OUR knowledge of the chief facts and dates in the life of Tacitus rests mainly on allusions in his own writings and those of his friend the younger Pliny, who addresses several letters to him and often speaks of him in others.

His praenomen is not mentioned in this correspondence, and is differently given by later authorities as Gaius or Publius. His family connexions are unknown; but he would appear to have been the first of his name to attain senatorial rank, though of sufficient position to have begun his 'cursus honorum' at the earliest, or almost the earliest, legal age; as he can hardly have been born earlier than A. D. 52–54, and must have been quaestor not later than A. D. 79, by which time he had also received in marriage the daughter of Agricola, who was already a consular, and one of the first men in the State.

His boyhood falls thus under the time of Nero; his assumption of the 'toga virilis' would coincide, or nearly so, with the terrible year of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; his early manhood was spent under Vespasian and Titus; the prime of his life under Domitian; the memory of whose tyranny is seen in all his historical writings, which were composed at various dates in the great time of Trajan.

Most of his life may be supposed to have been spent in Rome, where he became one of the leaders of the forensic bar, and one of the best known literary names of Rome; so that a stranger sitting next to him at the games, and finding him to be a man of letters, asked whether he was speaking to Tacitus or to Pliny[1].

[1] Plin. Epp. 9. 23, 2.

He is further known[1] as having been consul suffectus by the designation of Nerva either in A.D. 97 or 98, and as associated with Pliny in the prosecution of Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, in A.D. 100[2].

The Annals, more properly entitled 'Libri ab excessu divi Augusti,' comprising, in sixteen Books[3], the history of fifty-four years from the death of Augustus to that of Nero, are the latest in date of all his writings, and are shown, by an allusion to the Eastern conquests of Trajan[4], to have been published at some time not earlier than A.D. 115, and probably before the retrocession of the Eastern frontier under Hadrian in A.D. 117. The first six Books, comprising the whole principate of Tiberius, rest on a single manuscript, designated as the first Medicean, written probably in the tenth or eleventh century, and now preserved at Florence. What are given as various readings are the emendations of its errors and corruptions suggested by various editors, sometimes with the aid of marginal and other corrections of uncertain date in the manuscript itself.

In writing of the times of Tiberius, Tacitus, who must himself have been born some fifteen years after the death of that prince, appears to have derived some information from the unwritten recollections of his elders[5], but to have taken most of the material from previous writers. In one passage he refers to the history of the Roman wars in Germany by the elder Pliny[6], in another to the memoirs of Agrippina the mother of Nero[7], who is thought to have supplied the historians of that age with most of the domestic detail and court scandal which has passed current with far too little question of its truth. Elsewhere, he often refers to authors without naming them[8], and is thought to have been chiefly indebted to the works of M. Servilius Nonianus, who died in A.D. 59, and of Aufidius Bassus, whose date is much the same. He may also have had before him biographies of individuals, especially of Germanicus, to whose achievements

[1] Plin. Epp. 2. 1, 6.
[2] Id. 2. 11, 2.
[3] Of these, part of the fifth and sixth, the whole of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, with parts of the eleventh and sixteenth, are lost.
[4] See 2. 61, 2.
[5] See 3. 16, 2.
[6] 1. 69, 3.
[7] 4. 53, 3.
[8] 1. 29, 4; 80, 2; 81, 1; 2. 70, 4; 88, 1; 3. 3, 2; 4. 10, 1; 57, 2.

he gives such prominence; probably also some published speeches[1], especially those addressed by the princeps to the senate[2]; while his full record of the transactions of that body appears to have been directly or indirectly derived either from the minutes kept of its proceedings[3] or from published letters containing similar accounts to such as are given by Cicero of the course of the debate, the feeling of the house, and impression made by speakers.

It is to be noted that Tacitus considers his authors in general to be more or less untrustworthy, as having written in a spirit either of servility towards the prince under whom they lived or of rancour towards one recently deceased[4]. As the then existing histories of Tiberius are believed to have been written mostly after his death[5], they may be supposed to have abounded in such invective and insinuation against the great reputed enemy of the house of Germanicus as would be acceptable to Gaius, to Claudius, or to Nero; and Tacitus, who can be shown occasionally to reject a scandalous tale[6] or imputation[7], and to recognise, however grudgingly, an act of justice or liberality[8], may have sincerely believed that he was treating with impartiality the memory of one who had been too darkly painted.

His professed purpose in writing is to hold up signal examples of political vice and virtue for posterity to execrate and to admire[9], and to teach his readers, even through a narrative which he fears by its monotonous horrors may weary them[10], that good citizens can live under bad rulers; and that it is not mere destiny or the chapter of accidents, but personal character

[1] See note on 3. 13, 3.
[2] See 1. 81, 1; 2. 63, 4.
[3] The 'acta senatus' are not expressly mentioned in the first six Books; the 'acta populi,' or public journals, are once referred to (3. 3, 2).
[4] 1. 1, 5.
[5] The short sketch contained in the last nine chapters of Velleius Paterculus, is the only historical work known even by name to us, in which the 'res Tiberii' are treated 'florente ipso.'
[6] See 4. 11.
[7] 1. 76, 7.
[8] See especially the general sketch of the best period of the rule of Tiberius given in 4. 6; also the notice of particular acts in 1. 75; 2. 47, 48; 4. 64, &c.
[9] See 3. 65, 1.
[10] 4. 32; 33.

and discretion, dignified moderation and reserve, that best guard a senator of rank unharmed through a time of peril[1], in which not only the defiant on one side, but almost as often the sycophant on the other, are struck down as the course of events or even the changing humours of the prince may prompt[2].

In history written for such a purpose, the delineation of character, and analysis of actions into their motives, become the most important elements; and it is plain that Tacitus desired in this part of his work to print indelibly on the memory of his readers the portraits of the ruling prince and of the minister whose rise and fall formed the most striking political events of the period.

In Tiberius he has given us the picture of one to whom the best part of a lifetime spent in a position overshadowed by rivals[3] and surrounded by perils had made repression and disguise a second nature; who found himself, at the age of fifty-six, stepping into the position which had been held by a master genius, with whom all comparison must be to his disadvantage, and succeeding, as if by inheritance, to what was neither in theory nor as yet in practice a hereditary monarchy[4]. Hence we are to imagine him as feeling that his only security lay in a sustained hypocrisy; the position which he had made up his mind to grasp must seem forced upon him[5]; the power, when accepted, must be shared in form with the senate, in whose name all the most important acts must run[6]; he must watch beneath his mask every look and word of influential senators, and bide his time to strike down the dangerous[7]; he must seem to trust Germanicus at the head of his greatest army, yet take early opportunity of removing him[8] to a position seemingly still more exalted but really far less formidable[9]; and send with him a subordinate governor who, himself much to be distrusted[10], might both check and be checked by him; he must always keep up an army of informers who would strain every trivial act

[1] See 4. 20, 4. [2] 4. 71, 1.
[3] As Marcellus, Agrippa, Gaius, and Lucius Caesar: see 1. 3.
[4] See below, p. 26. [5] See 1. 11–13.
[6] Cp. 1. 25, 3; 75, 6; 2. 43, 1; 3. 60, 1; 4. 6, 2; 8, 6; 15, 3, &c.
[7] See 1. 7, 11; 13, 1, &c. [8] 2. 5, 1; 26, 3.
[9] 2. 42, 1; 43, 1. [10] Cp. 1. 13, 3; 74, 6; 2. 43, 3.

or thoughtless word into a charge of treason[1]; he must devolve on the senate the odious duty of trial and condemnation[2], and reserve only the credit of clemency for himself[3].

We are to suppose this suppression of all outward sign of the tyrant to be gradually relaxed[4]; the deaths of Germanicus and Drusus threw him more unreservedly into the power of his minister[5]; the death of his mother freed him from a life-long habit of submission; even the fall of Seianus was the removal of a restraint, whereby the propensities to abominable profligacy and savage cruelty, the one finding full scope in seclusion, the other aggravated by isolation and fear, revealed themselves as the true character so long concealed.

The portrait of Seianus has come down to us imperfect, but the steps of his rise at least are clearly indicated. We see him succeeding to the 'praefectura praetorii' as an unimportant office[6], and making it the most powerful position in the State; playing skilfully upon his master's weaknesses by representing the advantage of concentrating the praetorian guard in a barrack close outside the walls, and then securing to himself the assured support of this formidable force[7]. Drusus is got rid of by poison[8]; the family of Germanicus undermined by a series of insidious attacks[9]; the single false step of too bold a request for the hand of Livia promptly retrieved[10], and his position soon after more than restored by a lucky accident[11]; by a stroke of consummate tact, the prince's sense of failing power, the desire to escape from the eyes of men, and other such motives, are adroitly made use of to withdraw him to a retreat, which might pave the way to permanent and complete retirement, and meanwhile concentrate all real power in the hands of his representative at Rome[12].

[1] 1. 74, 1; 2. 27, 1, &c.   [2] 3. 51, 4.

[3] Cp. 1. 74, 7; 2. 50, 4; 3. 70, 2; 4. 31, 1.

[4] The first and best period of rule is described in the first three Books, the first stage of deterioration in the fourth: in the Appendix at the end of Book IV, some account of the further descent will be found.

[5] 4. 1, 1; 7, 1.

[6] 'Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit' 4. 2, 1.

[7] 4. 2, 1–3.   [8] 4. 8, 1.

[9] 4. 12, 3; 17, 4; 52, 1; 54, 1; 59, 5; 60, 1; 67, 5; 71, 5.

[10] 4. 39–41.   [11] 4. 59.   [12] 4. 41, 2; 57, 2; 67, 5.

A third picture, equally vivid and distinct, is that of Germanicus; who is set forth to us as loyal, even to the verge of death, before mutineers who at a word would have proclaimed him emperor[1]; as the true avenger of Varus[2], prevented, as we are assured, only by a jealous recall from completing the conquest of Germany[3]; as the idol of the people of Rome for his supposed popular sympathies[4]; and as the victim of jealousy and intrigue, if not of deeper crimes[5].

Other and less prominent characters, such as the hasty and passionate but not ungenerous Drusus[6], the fiery and ungovernable but high-principled Agrippina[7], and many others of lesser note, come in for their due share of attention, and help to heighten the contrast to the sinister qualities of the principal figure.

It is too great a question to be here discussed fully, how much of this elaborate portraiture is to be taken as historical truth. Much may be put down as due to the inventions or distortions of previous writers, only reduced by Tacitus to dimensions which seemed to him reasonable, by setting aside palpable falsifications; much to his own fondness for subtle interpretation and artistic contrast; much to the satiric tendencies characterising the literature of the age.

Especially in regard to the representation of the prince, it is easy to see that Tacitus had imbibed, perhaps unconsciously, special prejudices against the early Caesars, and particularly against Tiberius. His general admiration for the rule of the Roman aristocracy in its best days had blinded his eyes to its subsequent decrepitude, and made him view the Republican constitution rather as overthrown by ambitious schemers than as having fallen a prey to them through its own inherent weakness[8]; while Tiberius, who is, not unjustly, regarded as the first systematic encourager of professional informers, is tacitly held responsible for all the crop of evil traceable to this cause, which had yielded so abundant a harvest under Domitian[9]; and

[1] 1. 35, 3. [2] 1. 62, 2.
[3] 2. 26, 2; 41, 3; 73, 3. [4] 1. 33, 5. [5] 2. 41, 5; 82, 3, &c.
[6] 1. 29, 1; 2. 43, 7; 3. 37, 3; 4. 3, 2; 4, 2, &c.
[7] 1. 33, 6, &c. [8] Cp. generally 1. 2; 10; 3. 27; 28, &c.
[9] Cp. 1. 73, 1; 74, 2; 2. 27, 1, &c.

would appear to be invidiously contrasted in the writer's mind with Trajan, not only as the patron of delation with its repressor, but as the timid and cautious guardian of the frontiers of Augustus with the conqueror of Dacia and great part of the East[1]. Many misconceptions and much misinterpretation of motives may also be traceable to the theory, whereby the fact of a period of firm and just rule followed by subsequent deterioration is persistently treated as the gradual unfolding of an inherently vicious character, rather than by more just and natural means of explanation.

It is easy, again, to show that the facts recorded of Germanicus fail to support the conception formed of him; that his victories are barren[2], not unfrequently marred by needless massacre[3], and entailing manifold losses and disasters to the army under his command[4]; that most of his movements in the East are those of a mere tour of pleasure[5]; that no administrative measure betokening statesmanship is recorded of him.

Still, when all deduction is made, it is to Tacitus, far more than to any other writer now preserved to us, that we owe any knowledge of the working of the constitution under which Rome and the Empire then were governed, any conception of the personality of the chief men of the age, any attempt to penetrate the motives and springs of action, either in ruler or subject: and even when we move to set aside or modify his judgment on a character such as that of Tiberius, it is chiefly from his own candour and sense of justice in the statement of facts, far more than from any counter-evidence, that the means of criticising his insinuations and generalisations have been supplied to us.

[1] Cp. 1. 11, 7; 4. 4, 6; 32, 3.

[2] There was no permanent occupation of ground in Germany, and no evidence of fact to show that the power of resistance was broken.

[3] Cp. 1. 51, 2; 56, 3; 2. 21, 3.

[4] Cp. 1. 63–71; 2. 23–25.

[5] Cp. 2. 53; 54; 59–61.

II.

ON THE SYNTAX AND STYLE OF TACITUS.

NOTE.—Most of what is here said is applicable to the writings of Tacitus as a whole, and especially to the Annals; but the instances given are almost wholly from the first four Books. The references in square brackets are to the sections of the larger edition; those to which 'R,' is prefixed are to the sections of Roby's Grammar.

By the time of Tacitus, Latin prose composition had already departed much from the standard of Cicero or Caesar, through the frequent adoption of words and forms of expression from the great classic poets, who had by that time become text-books in every grammar-school; also through an increasing tolerance of Greek words and grammatical Graecisms, partly due to such study of Augustan poetry, partly to an increasing taste for what was Greek as such[1].

The special qualities of the style of Tacitus have been held to consist chiefly in rhetorical or poetical colouring, in the study of brevity, and in that of variety; all of which characteristics are no doubt due mainly to his professional career[2]. He has himself told us that the pleader in his day could no longer expatiate like Cicero, but was bound to be terse, epigrammatic, and striking, and to grace his style with poetic colouring from the treasury of Vergil and Horace, or even from more recent poets[3]. In falling in with this fashion, Tacitus draws the poetic element in his style almost exclusively from Vergil, to whom he is repeatedly and abundantly indebted; while his chief prose models are Sallust and Livy, his great predecessors in the field of history[4]. The effort at variety of expression, besides being part of the habitual skill of an orator, is further due to the historian's desire to relieve what he feels to be the oppressive monotony of his subject[5], by saying the same thing with the utmost variety of

[1] Juvenal mentions (7, 226) the use of Horace and Vergil as school-books, and also dwells at length (3, 61 foll.) on the extent to which the Rome of his day had become Greek.

[2] See above, p. 1.

[3] Dial. de Oratoribus, 19; 20.

[4] See below, § 58.

[5] See 4. 32; 33.

expression, by often giving the sentence an unexpected turn, by inventing new words or new senses of words, or reviving such as had become somewhat obsolete.

Of the various usages noted in the following sections, comparatively few are altogether peculiar to Tacitus ; but many are new in prose, and all are so far Tacitean that they are used by him with more boldness and freedom than by earlier prose authors [1].

A. SYNTAX.

I. Substantives, Adjectives, and Pronouns.

1 [1, 3]. **The frequent use of abstract for concrete nouns** (most commonly in the plural) is to be noted; as that of amicitia 2. 27, 2 ; consilia 4. 40, 2 ; iura 3. 60, 4 ; liberalitas 2. 37, 2 ; matrimonia 2. 13, 3 ; regna 3. 55, 3 : also the adoption from poets of the adjectival use of substantives in apposition ; as imperator populus 3. 6, 2 ; mare Oceanus 1. 9, 6.

2 [4, 5, 7]. **Adjectives are substantivally used** with much freedom ; (*a*) *in masc.*; as militares 3. 1, 2 ; (*b*) *neut. sing.*; as egregium 3. 70, 4 ; honestum 3. 65, 1 ; also with prep.; as in lubrico 1. 72, 3 ; (*c*) *neut. pl.*, often for an abstract substantive ; as falsis 2. 82, 8 ; occultis 2. 88, 1 : see other usages noted in §§ 19 a, 20 a. **Adjectives are also used with poetic freedom adverbially**; as aeternum 3. 26, 3 ; inmensum 3. 30, 2 ; praeceps 4. 62, 3 ; recens 2. 21, 1 : also several **new forms of comparison** are to be noted ; as curatissimus 1. 13, 7 ; flagrantissime 1. 3, 2 ; inprovisior 2. 47, 1.

3 [8, 9]. **Pronouns belonging to the third person are often omitted**, especially in the accus., even so as sometimes to involve harshness or obscurity. Such instances may be noted as the omission of se in 2. 71, 8 ; 83, 4 ; 4. 59, 5 ; and of eum or eam in 1. 69, 3 ; 4. 71, 5 ; also of the abl. (see § 19 b) or other cases : pronouns of the first or second person are sometimes omitted,

[1] Mr. Capes' recent edition of Sallust, and the Introduction (pp. xlv–xlix) to his edition of Books XXI and XXII of Livy may be conveniently referred to by those who wish to see how often Tacitus has adopted and extended the usages of his predecessors.

as in 1. 22, 3; 4. 38, 1. The use of quis for quisque in the constant form ut quis, as in 1. 69, 2; 2. 24, 6, &c., appears to be peculiar to Tacitus.

II. Cases.

A. *Accusative.*

4 [11]. **The poetical or Greek accus.** of the part concerned (R. 1101, 1102), rare in prose even of the silver age, is used frequently of parts of the body; as humeros 2. 13, 1; faciem 2. 17, 7, &c., and in other expressions; also, as by Caesar, in military phrases; as frontem . . . munitus 1. 50, 2.

5 [12]. **Transitive accusatives.**

(a) *An accus. clause is often used in (so-called) apposition to the sentence*, i. e. explanatory of the effect or purpose of the action denoted by the verb and its adjuncts: see 1. 27, 1; 49, 5; 74, 3; 2. 64, 6.

(b) *The poetical accus.* with verbs expressing affections (R. 1123) is not unfrequent, and is extended to instances new or rare in prose; as pavescere 1. 59, 7; gravari 3. 59, 6.

(c) *The use of compound verbs with simple accus.* is extended: among the instances most new to prose are those of advehi (with acc. pers.) 2. 45, 4; elabi 1. 61, 6; incedere 1. 61, 2; intervenire 3. 23, 1; inrepere 4. 2, 3; praecellere 2. 43, 7; praeminere 3. 56, 2.

B. *Dative.*

6 [15]. **The dat. of indirect object**, where an abl. with prep. would be more usual (R. 1144), chiefly found in poets and Livy, is often used; as with abstrahere 2. 26, 6; excusari 1. 12, 3; eximere 1. 48, 2; proripere 4. 45, 4.

7 [16]. **The usage whereby**, in expressions such as 'cui nomen erat,' **the name itself is attracted** to the case of the pronoun (R. 1159), is restricted by Tacitus to adjectives (e. g. 1. 31, 2; 2. 8, 1); the nom. (e. g. 2. 4, 3; 80, 1), or, more rarely, the genit. (see note on 4. 59, 2) being used of substantives.

8 [18]. **The dat. of the agent**, regular after a gerundive, and not unusual after a passive participle or an adj. in '-bilis'

(R. 1146), is used by Tacitus without such restriction, and without any notion of the interest of the agent; as sibi aspici 1. 17, 10: see also 2. 50, 4; 57, 5; 3. 20, 3.

9 [19]. **The poetical dat. where a genit. would be more usual** (R. 1154), rare in prose before Livy, is especially frequent in Tacitus; as rector iuveni 1. 24, 3; paci firmator 2. 46, 6; custos saluti 3. 14, 7; Seiano fautores 4. 60, 2, and very many others.

10 [21]. **The dat. after compound verbs,** where the accus. with prep. would be expected, is also poetical; as pectori adcreverat 1. 19, 1 (where see note).

11 [22]. **The dat. of the gerundive,** expressing work contemplated, is extremely characteristic of Tacitus and especially frequent in the Annals, being used with more than twenty adjectives (see 1. 23, 5; 31, 2; 2. 57, 3, &c.), and much oftener with verbs, often so as to be fully equivalent to a final clause; as with deligere 2. 4, 1; eximere 3. 22, 6; fingere 4. 1, 4; mittere 1. 60, 2. The simple dat. of a noun is sometimes used with the force of a final clause; as morti deposcit 1. 23, 6 (where see note).

12 [23]. **The dat. expressing that which a thing serves as or occasions,** or predicative dat. (R. 1158), most frequent in the case of forms in '-ui,' and especially used with 'esse' or 'haberi,' is common in Tacitus (see Roby, Pref. xxv–lvi). Among the more noteworthy instances are those of absolutioni 3. 13, 2; honori . . . ignominiae 3. 32, 2; noxae 3. 13, 2; obtentui 1. 10, 1; ostentui 1. 29, 4.

C. *Ablative.*

13 [24]. **The abl. of place whence** (R. 1158, 1260) is used more freely by Tacitus than by any other writer, both of countries; as Armenia 1. 3, 3; Illyrico 3. 11, 1; and, in a similar sense, of common names; as fuga impediverat 1. 39, 6; progrediuntur contuberniis 1. 41, 2; often after verbs compounded with 'ab' or 'ex;' as in 1. 39, 4; 54, 3; 65, 2; 2. 23, 2; 69, 5.

14 [25]. **The abl. of place at which** (R. 1170) is used with poetical freedom, whether to express direction; as porta 1. 8, 4; finibus 1. 60, 2; or, much oftener, position; as molibus 2. 60, 4;

toro 3. 5, 6; saxis 4. 43, 2; campo 4. 74, 6; also in the case of neut. adjectives; as medio 2. 52, 6.

15 [27]. **The free extension of the instrumental abl. to personal agents** (R. 1213, 1220) is also mainly poetical; e.g. legionibus petitum 2. 46, 2; corruptoribus tentare 2. 79, 4; criminatoribus . . . efficiebat 4. 12, 6.

16 [28]. **The abl. of manner** is often used boldly without the addition of an adj. (R. 1236, 1239); as spe vel dolore 1. 59, 1; clamore et impetu 1. 68, 4; ordinibus ac subsidiis 2. 80, 6; catervis 4. 51, 1.

17 [29]. **The abl. of quality** (R. 1232) is often used brachylogically of persons without the addition of the verb 'esse' or of a common name (see also § 22); as artibus egregiis 1. 13, 1; multa dicendi arte 1. 19, 2; defecto corpore 4. 29, 1. On its extension to circumstances attaching to a person or thing, see 3. 43, 2; 76, 2; 4. 52, 8; 58, 1.

18 [30]. **The causal abl.** is used with especial freedom in the Annals, where a prep. or a genit. with 'causa' or 'gratia' would be expected, whether of subjective motives; as iactantia gloriaque 1. 8, 2; caritate 1. 10, 6; conscientia 1. 57, 2; taedio 1. 76, 6; or of objective causes; as dissensione ordinum 3. 27, 2.

19 [31]. **Some uses of the abl. absolute** are remarkable for their conciseness.

(a) *The use of the neut. abl. of a participle as predicate, with a sentence as subject*, is abundant in the Annals, and elsewhere comparatively rare. Among the more peculiar instances may be noted addito 1. 35, 6; adiecto 4. 70, 7; credito 3. 14, 4; intellecto 1. 49, 3; pensitato 3. 52, 4; quaesito 2. 9, 1; repetito 3. 33, 1: some neut. adjectives are similarly used; as periculoso 1. 6, 6; libero 3. 60, 6.

(b) *The abl. of an adj. or part. is thus used by itself without a demonstrative or relative pronoun*, when the subject has been recently expressed; as cohibita 3. 33, 1; or even when it can be supplied from the sense; as orantibus 1. 29, 2.

D. *Genitive.*

20 [32]. **Partitive or quasi-partitive** (R. 1296). Such genitives are abundant in Tacitus; the partitive meaning being often lost sight of, and the construction being equivalent, as in poetry (e.g. 'strata viarum,' &c.), to a simple subst. and adj.

(a) *after neut. sing.;* as umido, lubrico paludum 1. 61, 2; 65, 6; sometimes even after a case depending on a prep.; as in prominenti litoris 1. 53, 7.

(b) *after neut. pl.*, still more frequently; as cuncta curarum 3. 35, 2; tacita suspicionum 4. 41, 1.

(c) *after masc. or fem.*, also frequently; as with pauci, multi, alii, &c.: also in such expressions as quinque consularium 3. 28, 6; leves cohortium 3. 39, 1.

(d) *with adverbs;* as eo furoris 1. 18, 2; huc adrogantiae 3. 73, 1.

21 [33]. **Objective genitive** (R. 1312).

(a) *with verbs.* It is peculiar to Tacitus to use such a genit. with monere (1. 67, 1), on the analogy of its compounds, and with adipisci (3. 55, 1), on the analogy of potiri. He also extends the usage of an elliptical genit. with verbs of accusing or judging to new examples; as postulare 1. 74, 1; deferre 4. 42, 3.

(b) *with participles*, the frequency of such a genit. is characteristic; e.g. with cupiens 1. 75, 4; inpatiens 2. 64, 4; intolerans 1. 31, 1; retinens 2. 38, 9; sciens 1. 64, 6.

(c) *with adjectives*, the usage is also characteristic from its extreme frequency; the genit. sometimes expressing direct object (R. 1312), where the accus. with participle might be substituted (as with pavidus 4. 38, 1; providus 4. 38, 1, &c.); or a more remote object (R. 1318), where the abl. with de would be usual (as with ambiguus 1. 7, 4; certus 1. 27, 3; securus 3. 28, 3); oftenest of all expressing (as in poets) the thing in point of which a term is applied to a person (R. 1320): animi is constantly thus used (1. 32, 5; 69, 2, &c.); and such a genit. is found with manifestus 2. 85, 3; melior 3. 74, 1; modicus 2. 73, 3; occultus 4. 7, 2; pervicax 4. 53, 1; praeclarus 4. 34, 4; validus 4. 21, 5; vetus 1. 20, 2; and many others.

22 [34]. **The genit. of quality** is often used with the same brachylogy as the corresponding abl. (§ 17); as Lentulus senectutis extremae 4. 29, 1; velut eluctantium verborum 4. 31, 4.

23 [37]. **The gerundive genit.** (see the corresponding dat. § 11) is used oftener by Tacitus than by any other author, and with especial frequency in the Annals; sometimes with the force of a genit. of quality; as bellum abolendae infamiae 1. 3, 6; often, by a more distinctly Tacitean usage, to qualify, not any expressed noun, but the whole sentence (R. 1288); as Aegyptum proficiscitur, cognoscendae antiquitatis 2. 59, 1: so vitandae suspicionis 3. 9, 2; ostentandae virtutis 3. 41, 4. This usage is perhaps a Graecism, from such constructions as *τὸ λῃστικὸν καθῄρει, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ* (Thuc. 1. 4).

III. Verbs.

24 [38]. **Tacitus uses more freedom than classical writers in the omission of verbs** of speaking (as in 1. 9, 4; 38. 3; 41, 2), thinking (as in 2. 5, 3), moving, or acting (as in 1. 43, 1; 4. 38, 5), when they can be supplied from the sense or context, especially in lively descriptions or rhetorical passages.

25 [39]. **Other parts of the verb 'esse' than the present indic. or infin. are often omitted**; as 'erat,' 'erant,' &c., especially in relative or dependent clauses; as in cuius manu 1. 7, 9; ubi crematus 2. 83, 3; donec id vetitum 4. 74, 6 (cp. 1. 69, 2; 3. 26, 3); also 'fore,' in 2. 15, 3; and 'fuisse,' as in 2. 31, 4; 73, 4; 3. 16, 1, &c. The subjunctive of this verb is also freely omitted, when another subjunct. follows, as in 1. 9, 1; 35, 1; 65, 1, &c., and in oratio obliqua, as in 1. 11, 2; 4. 39, 4.

26 [40]. **The poetical use of simple verbs for compound** is especially abundant in the Annals, where nearly forty verbs so used are noted. In the first Book alone may be instanced ardescere 73, 1; asperare 72, 5; firmare 71, 5; gravescere 5, 1; notescere 73, 3; piare 42, 2; ponere (= proponere) 7, 5; solari 14, 4.

IV. Moods and Tenses.

A. *Infinitive.*

27 [43]. **The simple infin.** (R. 1344) is often used, as by other prose writers of the silver age, with verbs which contain a

complete idea in themselves, or which express an inclination or effort; or such as denote an influence over others and take an accus. or dat. Tacitus appears to stand alone in using it with ambio 2. 43, 3; compono 3. 40, 3 (*ἅπ. εἰρ.*); inlicio 2. 37, 2; and some others; with other verbs he appears to be first to use it in prose; as with adigo 4. 29, 3; arceo 3. 72, 2; and several others.

28 [44]. **The accus. with infin.** (R. 1351) is used by Tacitus alone with adnecto 4. 28, 2; illacrymo 2. 71, 4; incuso 3. 38, 4 (all *ἅπ. εἰρ.*). He follows Livy in using it freely with negative expressions of doubt, as in 2. 26, 2; 36, 2, &c. For other remarkable uses of this construction, see notes on 1. 69, 1; 72, 2; 79, 3; 2. 33, 5.

29 [45]. **The (so-called) nominative with infin.** (R. 1353) is often used where the impersonal construction would be usual in classical prose; as with dubitor 3. 8, 4; intellegor 1. 61, 3; and generally with verbs of accusing; as accusor 4. 22, 4; arguor 2. 50, 3; convincor 4. 31, 5; deferor 2. 27, 1.

30 [46]. **The historic infin.** (R. 1359) is used by Tacitus alone with temporal particles in the first clause of a protasis (always with a finite verb dependent on the same particle following); as with ubi 2. 4, 4; postquam 3. 26, 3. His other uses of the mood in temporal clauses (as in 2. 31, 1; 40, 1; 4. 50, 6) are not altogether without precedent; and his use of it in place of the principal verb, though frequent (e.g. six times in 1. 16), is surpassed by Sallust.

31 [47]. **The epexegetic infin.** (R. 1360, 1361), a Graecism frequent in poets, is used by Tacitus with several adjectives; as certus 4. 57, 1; manifestus 2. 57, 4; properus 4. 52, 2.

B. *Indicative.*

32 [50]. **The rhetorical use of this mood for the subjunct.** in the apodosis of conditional sentences is remarkable in Tacitus for its frequency, especially in the imperfect, either to express what might or should have been, in contrast to what is (R. 1535 c); as indignum erat 1. 42, 5; or, much oftener, to express vividly what was on the point of happening (R. 1574, 4); the apodosis being almost invariably introduced by 'ni;' as ferrum

parabant, ni 1. 23, 6; deferebat . . . ni 1. 35, 5; trudebantur . . . ni 1. 63, 3; and very many other instances. On a similar use of other tenses, see notes on 2. 22, 3; 4. 9, 1.

C. *Subjunctive or Conjunctive.*

33 [51]. **The potential subjunct.** (R. 1534, foll.) is used with remarkable frequency and freedom; in the present; as mereare . . . recipias (1. 28, 7, &c.); in the imperf.; as discerneres (3. 1, 5, &c.); and especially often in the aoristic perfect, in modest assertions or negations of possibility; also with expressions of prohibition, sometimes in the third person; as nemo . . . contenderit 4. 32, 1; sometimes in dependent clauses; as ne . . . abierim 6. 22, 6.

34 [52]. **The subjunct. of cases often occurring** (R. 1716) is more common in Tacitus than in any earlier writer, and is used with cum (1. 7, 8, &c.), quo (4. 70, 3), quoquo (3. 74, 3), quoties (2. 2, 5, &c.), seu (4. 60, 3, &c.), ubi (1. 44, 8, &c.), ut quis (1. 27, 1, &c.), and in many other expressions.

V. Participles.

Some characteristic uses of participles have been already mentioned (see §§ 19 a, 21 b).

35 [54]. **Participles are often used concisely with the force of a relative clause**; either aoristic present; as trucidantium . . . exturbantium (2. 2, 4); aoristic perf., of passive as well as of deponent verbs; as occisis (1. 77, 1), missis (4. 55, 7), &c. (see also note on 3. 13, 2); or future, whether in the nom., to express purpose (R. 1115, 3); as certaturus (1. 45, 3), &c., or, in other cases, to express result; as tracturis (1. 31, 1); cessuris (1. 46, 3), &c.

36 [55]. **Participles are used often in concise expressions as subject of the verb.**

(a) *present*, rarely; as Agrippina . . . tegens 4. 12, 2.

(b) *perf.*, very often with the force of an abstract noun and genit.; as occisus Caesar 1. 8, 7; mutatus princeps 1. 16, 1; and in very many other instances; also in the neut. nom., where a sentence with quod would be expected; as nihil occultum 3. 9, 3; cuncta . . . composita 2. 57, 1. On a similar use of nouns, see note on 1. 19, 5.

VI. Prepositions.

37 [56]. **Prepositions are often absent** where they might be expected (see §§ 2, 5 c, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18); or their use is avoided by the employment of other constructions (see §§ 6, 8, 21 c). On the anastrophe of preps. see § 49.

38 [60]. **In** is often used with the abl. of neuter adjectives in such phrases as in levi (3. 54, 6), in arto (4. 32, 3), &c. (such usage being rare in prose before Livy): also with accus. often with almost the force of a simple dat. as in 1. 76, 5 (where see note); still oftener, like εἰς, ἐπί, or πρός, to express the effect intended or resulting (R. 1974); as in the phrases in deterius (2. 82, 1); in falsum (3. 56, 3); in incertum (1. 11, 4); in lacrimas (1. 57, 5); in maius (3. 12, 6, &c.); in mortem (4. 45, 1); in speciem (2. 6, 3).

39 [57-59, 61-63]. Among the **more remarkable uses of other preps.**, noted in their places, are those of apud (1. 5, 5, &c.), erga (2. 2, 5, &c.), iuxta (1. 6, 6, &c.), per (1. 2, 1; 17, 5; 61, 6, &c.), and simul (3. 64, 3).

VII. Adverbs and Conjunctions.

40 [64]. **The abbreviation of comparative sentences** is very common in the Annals.

(a) *By supplying* '*magis*' from a following 'quam' (as μᾶλλον from ἤ), as in 1. 58, 2; 3. 17, 7, &c.

(b) *By the use of a positive with* '*quanto,*' without the addition of 'magis,' as in 1. 57, 1; 68, 5.

(c) *By the omission of* '*tanto,*' as in 1. 74, 7; 4. 69, 4, &c.: see also note on 3. 8, 1.

(d) *Other compendious expressions* of comparison may be noted; such as atrocius vero 4. 21, 4.

Adversative sentences are often abbreviated, by the omission, after 'non modo,' either of 'sed' (as in 3. 19, 1; 4. 35, 1), or of 'etiam' (as in 1. 60, 1, &c.).

41 [65]. **The omission of conjunctions** (asyndeton) is not confined to rhetorical passages, but is frequent in narrative; as inserunt . . . offerunt . . . intendunt (1. 23, 6); in enumerations; as senatus magistratuum legum (1. 2, 1); or to mark a climax;

as manu voce vulnere (2. 17, 5); or an antithesis; as lacrimas gaudium questus adulationem (1. 7, 2).

42 [66]. **The concise Greek use of adverbs as attributive adjectives** is adopted and extended from Livy; as superne ... cominus 2. 20, 3; dites circum terras 4. 55, 8.

Many other uses of various adverbs and conjunctions are noted where they occur.

B. STYLE.

I. New Words or New Senses of Words.

43 [69]. Many of the words apparently invented by Tacitus fall under the following heads.

(a) **Verbal substantives.**

(1) *in '-tor,' '-sor,' and '-trix;'* as adcumulator 3. 30, 2; condemnator 4. 66, 1; defector 1. 48, 1; exstimulator 3. 40, 1; regnatrix 1. 4, 4; sanctor 3. 26, 6; subversor 3. 28, 1.

(2) *in '-us' (genit. '-us') and in 'mentum;'* as provisus (only in abl.) 1. 27, 2; imitamentum 3. 5, 6, &c. The large number of words of each of these classes used is highly characteristic of Tacitus, as also the preference, in his choice between forms in '-men' and '-mentum,' for whichever is the more unusual.

(b) **Negative words formed with 'in;'** as inprosper 3. 24, 2; inreligiose 2. 50, 2; inturbidus 3. 52, 1.

(c) **Words with the prefix 'per' and 'prae;'** as peramoenus 4. 67, 3; perstimulare 4. 12, 7; pervigere 4. 34, 6; praegracilis 4. 57, 3.

(d) **Frequentative verbs**; as appellitare 4. 66, 1. A general tendency to prefer such verbs to the simple forms is noticeable.

Many other new words, not classified, are noted where they occur.

44 [71]. **The following are among the words used by Tacitus in a sense peculiar to himself**, advertere (in aliquem = to punish) 2. 32, 5; amovere (to banish) 1. 53, 6; conexus (of relationship) 2. 50, 1; gnarus (= notus) 1. 5, 4; proicere (to defer) 2. 36, 3.

Many of the syntactical usages already mentioned are also to be noted among the innovations of Tacitus.

II. Rhetorical and Poetical Colouring.

A large number of the syntactical usages noted above belong to this head.

45 [70]. **The following are among the poetical words found in no earlier prose**; most of them being apparently taken from Vergil: brevia (shoals) 1. 70, 3; celerare 2. 5, 2; densere 2. 14, 4; eburnus 2. 83, 2; honorus 1. 10, 7; incustoditus 2. 12, 5; indefessus 1. 64, 5; insatiabiliter 4. 38, 6; intemeratus 1. 42, 3; inviolabilis 3. 62, 1; lapsare 1. 65, 6; notescere 1. 73, 3; properus 1. 65, 4; secundare 2. 24, 4; sonor 1. 65, 1; trudes 3. 46, 6; valescere 2. 39, 5.

46 [72]. **The following are examples of those used in senses previously poetical**: cura (a written work) 3. 24, 4; educere (to build up) 2. 61, 1; evictus (prevailed upon) 4. 57, 5; intentatus (untried) 1. 50, 3. See also § 26.

47 [74]. **Many metaphorical senses of words are to be noted**; as those of verbs expressing—

(a) *Movement;* as vergere 2. 43, 1; 4. 8, 5.

(b) *Clothing or stripping;* as induere 1. 69, 2; exuere 1. 2, 1.

(c) *Burning;* as ardescere 3. 17, 2.

(d) *Breaking;* as abrumpere 4. 50, 3; perrumpere 3. 15, 4; rumpere 1. 42, 4.

(e) *Revolution;* as volvere 1. 64, 7; revolvere 3. 18, 6.

(f) *Swallowing;* as hauriri 1. 70, 4; 3. 72, 4.

(g) *Loosing;* as exsolvere 3. 28, 6; 39, 1; 4. 22, 4.

To these may be added metaphorical senses of substantives; as of moles (2. 78, 1), saevitia (2. 87, 1), &c.; also of adjectives; as of adultus (2. 23, 1), angustus and lubricus (2. 87, 3), tumidus (4. 12, 7), &c.

48 [76]. **Hendiadys** appears to be more frequent in Tacitus than in earlier prose writers: e.g. carmina et devotiones 2. 69, 5; tempore et spatio 2. 82, 8; posteritate et infamia 3. 65, 1; and many other instances.

49 [77]. **Anastrophe of prepositions** is used with greater freedom in the Annals than in any other prose writings: the prep. being placed (1) *after the substantive* (e.g. 1. 19, 3; 65, 3;

2. 41, 1; 3. 75, 4); (2) *between coordinated substantives* (e.g. 4. 5, 1; 50, 2); (3) *between a substantive and its attribute or dependent genitive* (e.g. 3. 10, 4; 72, 2; 4. 16, 6); (4) *between substantives in apposition* (e.g. 2. 60, 1; 4. 43, 6); (5) *after two coordinated substantives* (e.g. 1. 60, 5; 4. 8, 7; 55, 3). Some of these uses do not extend to monosyllabic preps.; and some preps. (e.g. circa, praeter, prope, sine, supra, pro) are never used by Tacitus in anastrophe; those mostly so used being ab, ad, apud, ex, in, and inter.

III. Influence of the Study of Brevity.

50 [80]. **Ellipses.** Many such have been already noted (see §§ 24, 25, 37, 40, 41), as well as many usages adopted for conciseness of expression (§§ 11, 23, 27, 28, 38).

51 [82]. **Parenthetical remarks** are often expressed concisely by one or more words equivalent to a relative clause: such use of rarum is peculiar to Tacitus and to the Annals (1. 39, 7; 56, 2, &c.); other similar expressions are vix credibile dictu (1. 35, 6); mirum dictu (2. 17, 4), &c.: see also 5a, and note on 4. 55, 6.

52 [83]. **Zeugma** is more common in Tacitus than in any other writer. See the use of redimi 1. 17, 6; probabam 1. 58, 2; permisit 2. 20, 2; appellans 2. 45, 4; intentarent 3. 36, 2; and very many others. Akin to this is the use of a masc. noun for persons of both sexes, as privigni 4. 71, 7.

53 [84]. **Pregnant constructions** are often adopted for conciseness; as ius legationis . . . miseratur 1. 39, 8; proruunt fossas 1. 68, 2; permoveor, num 4. 57, 2; also pregnant meanings of words, as of praemia 2. 81, 1; venenum 3. 22, 2; pax 3. 33, 2.

IV. Influence of the Study of Variety.

54 [87-91]. **It is characteristic of Tacitus constantly to change the form of expression** in corresponding clauses without other apparent object than that of variation. Among the more common changes are—

(a) *From one prep. to another of similar meaning;* as in . . . ad 1. 28, 7; inter . . . apud 3. 40, 1; per . . . in 4. 55, 7.

(b) *From a case with a prep. to a simple case;* as with opportunus 2. 6, 4; promptus 4. 46, 4.

(c) *From asyndeta to conjunctions;* as in 1. 11, 6; or from one conjunction to another, as in 2. 60, 4; 4. 26, 4. In many instances such a change is not merely for variety, but serves to mark different grades of connexion.

(d) *Change of case;* as Spartanorum . . . Atheniensibus 3. 26, 4; or *number;* as patres eques 1. 7, 1; eques . . . pedites 3. 46, 5.

(e) *Change of voice;* as omissa sunt aut . . . obliteravit 2. 83, 5.

(f) *From causal abl. to participle;* as metu . . . diffisus 2. 1, 2 (cp. 2. 22, 2).

(g) *From gerundive to clause with 'ut' or 'neu;'* as appellandam . . . utque 1. 14, 2 (cp. 2. 36, 1; 3. 17, 8; 63, 7).

(h) *From a substantive to an infinitive;* as placuit . . . occultior via et . . . incipere 4. 3, 1; *or to a clause with 'quod,' 'quia,'* &c.; as magnitudinem viri . . . et quam 2. 63, 4 (cp. 3. 44, 4; 4. 18, 1; 31, 2; 38, 4): *also from an adj. or partic. to such a clause;* as rati . . . an ne 3. 3, 2.

55 [93]. Tacitus takes evident pains to **vary as much as possible the expressions** for facts that have to be often stated. Some of the various phrases for the following may be noted—

(a) *Death;* as obire, oppetere, concedere, excedere, vita cedere, vita concedere, &c.

(b) *Suicide;* as se vita privare, vim sibi afferre, vitam relinquere, sua manu cadere, &c.

(c) *Suicide by opening veins;* as venas exsolvere, resolvere, abrumpere, interrumpere, &c.

(d) *Suicide by stabbing;* as ferro incumbere, se ipsum ferro transigere, suo ictu mortem invenire, &c.

(e) *Suicide by starvation;* as vitam abstinentia finire, egestate cibi perimi, &c.

(f) *Interdiction of fire and water;* as aliquem aqua et igni interdicere, arcere, prohibere.

(g) *Approach of evening;* as flexo in vesperam die; vesperascente die; sero diei; obscuro diei, &c.

56 [94]. In reported speeches, variety is often introduced by

an abrupt transition to oratio recta, as in 2. 77, 2; 3. 12, 4; 46, 3; 4. 40, 5.

IV. Influence of Imitation.

57 [95]. The **Graecisms** in Tacitus are chiefly such as had already become naturalised in Latin; and most of them are noticed under other heads (§§ 4, 8, 23, 31, 38, 42): see also notes on 1. 49, 1; 59, 1; 2. 33, 5.

58 [97]. The **debt of Tacitus** to his chief predecessors in historical writing, and to the great classical poets, may here be illustrated by a few instances: others can be gathered from many previous sections (see especially §§ 45–49); and many others are pointed out in the notes in their places.

(1) Sallust (the references are to Dietsch's arrangement).

	Annals.
Fr. inc. 92 genua patrum advolvuntur	1. 13, 7
Jug. 51, 1 fors omnia regere	1. 49, 2
Cat. 30, 4 omnia honesta atque inhonesta	2. 38, 7
Fr. H. 1. 88 neque animo neque auribus aut lingua competere	3. 46, 1
Jug. 45, 1 magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior	4. 20, 4
Jug. 20, 7 cum predatoria manu	4. 24, 3
Jug. 4, 9 ad inceptum redeo	4. 33, 6
(2) Livy.	
7. 5, 6 stolide ferocem viribus suis	1. 3, 4
28. 27, 3 ne quo nomine quidem adpellare debeam, scio, etc.	1. 42, 4
3. 49, 3 si iure ageret . . . si vim adferre conaretur	2. 80, 4
3. 53, 2 liberatores haud dubie	2. 88, 3
6. 8, 2 senecta invalidum	3. 43, 4
(3) Horace.	
Ep. 1. 11, 6 odio maris atque viarum (cp. Od. 2. 6, 7)	2. 14, 6
(4) Vergil.	
Aen. 4, 15 fixum inmotumque	1. 47, 1
„ 10, 850 vulnus adactum	1. 61, 6
„ 9, 137 exscindere gentem	2. 25, 4

Aen. 3,176 tendoque supinas | ad caelum cum voce manus 2. 29, 2
" 2, 75 quae sit fiducia capto 3. 11, 2
" 10, 630 manet . . . gravis exitus . . . 4. 74, 5

III.

ON THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS.

IF Tacitus had ever fulfilled his intention[1] of taking the life and times of Augustus as a special subject, his organization of the empire at home and abroad would no doubt have been described in detail. As it is, a knowledge of these institutions is presupposed in the reader, though a passing notice is introduced at times in illustration of some point in the subject of the proper narrative.

In the constitution solemnly inaugurated by his acceptance of the title of 'Augustus' at the beginning of B.C. 27, Caesar was content to be designated not as 'king' or 'dictator,' but only as 'prince[2].' If this term is, as has been commonly supposed, shortened from 'princeps senatus,' it implied only that (as was no doubt the fact) his name stood first on the roll of senators, and would convey no idea of his relation to the state. The fact, however, that Caesar is always spoken of not as 'princeps senatus' but as simply 'princeps' seems, together with many other considerations, to point to the conclusion that the term, if an abbreviation of any kind, is rather that of some such an expression as 'princeps civitatis,' and was intended to designate his general position as first citizen of the Republic, which he claimed to have in other respects restored in its entirety.

Thus understood, the title conveys no monarchical idea[3], and does not even imply magistracy; though certain powers always held with it made the princeps first magistrate of the state.

Of these, the first and most important was the 'imperium

[1] See 3. 24, 4.

[2] 1. 1, 3; 9, 6.

[3] The taunt of Piso, 'principis Romani, non Parthi regis filio, eas epulas dari' (2. 57, 5), illustrates the difference between principate and royalty.

proconsulare[1],' whereby, in contrast to those holding a more limited 'imperium,' he was distinctively the sole 'imperator[2],' or 'emperor,' of the Roman empire, and commander-in-chief of all its fleets and armies. Not only the 'legati' of his own special provinces, but also the proconsuls of those left to the senate, ranked as his subordinates; and all military operations were held by a fiction to be conducted under his 'auspicia[3];' while, by a further extension, this power was valid also in Italy and even within the walls of Rome, giving him not only the supreme command of the home army and police, but also power of life and death over all citizens, even of senatorial rank, and a special jurisdiction, whereby he could either try in person criminal and civil charges of every description, or remit them, as he thought fit, to other tribunals[4].

Hardly less important was the 'tribunicia potestas[5].' In the later time of the Republic, the office of tribune had been generally the most powerful urban magistracy, as that of proconsul had been the chief title of military command; and Caesar was as much above ordinary tribunes as above ordinary proconsuls. He held office for life, was hampered by the veto of no colleague[6], and was known to be able, if need be, to support any coercive action by military force. From this office he derived personal inviolability; it was through it that he could summon the senate and propose questions to it[7], as well as intervene to forbid or modify any decree displeasing to him[8]. Also, in this capacity, he seems to have so far represented the people, that the old civic right of 'provocatio ad populum' from the sentence

[1] See on 1. 14, 4.

[2] The use of this title, as commemorative of victories (see on 1. 9, 2), is distinct from its use to denote supreme command. The latter was taken to be designated, in the case of most principes, by the 'praenomen imperatoris;' which, however, was not borne by Tiberius.

[3] See 2. 18, 2; 22, 1; 41, 1; and the language addressed by Horace to Augustus on the victories of his stepsons (Od. 4. 14, 43), 'te copias, te consilium et tuos | praebente Divos.'

[4] On this jurisdiction, see 3. 10, 3, 6.

[5] See 1. 9, 2; 3. 56. 2.

[6] A colleague in this power was only at times appointed, and only one whom the princeps felt that he could trust: see 1. 3, 3; 3. 56, 3.

[7] 1. 7, 5.

[8] E.g. 3. 18, 1; 70. 2, &c.

of the magistrate passes into an appeal to Caesar, and the whole prerogative of pardon is thus vested in him[1].

By exercising in some form a 'regimen legum et morum,' he retained to himself the most important powers belonging to the ancient censorship[2], such as the revision of the lists of senators and knights, and the expulsion of unworthy members of those bodies[3].

Another office, regularly held by the princeps from and after B.C. 12, was that of 'pontifex maximus,' whereby he became the supreme authority in many of the chief religious questions belonging to the state[4].

It will be seen that the form of the Roman Republic was preserved; that the Caesars professedly derived their power from their tenure of republican magistracies or modifications of such, and were supreme by a combination of such offices, and by such extension of their functions as would not seem inconsistent with their original idea. Not unfrequently Caesar also filled one of the consulships[5], rather as a recognition of the dignity of the office than as deriving any additional power from it. Otherwise, the annual magistracies existed on their ancient footing[6], and discharged their usual duties of routine; the most important being those of the consuls, as the regular presidents of the senate, and of the praetors, as presiding over and regulating the 'iudicia publica.' Side by side with them were important new officers directly appointed by Caesar; of whom the 'praefectus praetorio' and 'praefectus vigilum' were his military and police vicegerents in Rome, while the 'praefectus urbi' and 'praefectus annonae' must have encroached on some functions of the republican magistrates.

Passing from the magistrates to the senate and the comitia, we find that one of the first acts of Tiberius was practically to annihilate the latter body, by transferring the election of magis-

[1] For an instance of such pardon, see 4. 31, 1.

[2] The censorship itself was allowed to drop after B.C. 22, and was very rarely revived by subsequent emperors. [3] See 2. 48, 3.

[4] For a question referred to Tiberius in this capacity, see 3. 59, 1.

[5] Augustus had held this office continuously for several years down to B.C. 23; Tiberius held it three times during his principate.

[6] 'Eadem magistratuum vocabula' 1. 3, 7.

trates to the senate[1]. The people may probably have felt that the substance of power had long since departed from them, and that only the shadow had now followed it: at any rate, the change took place without serious opposition, and the populace were left with nothing henceforth to care for but their bread and their amusements[2].

With the senate it was outwardly far otherwise. In place of the 'senatus populusque Romanus,' in whose name the acts of Rome used to run, this august body alone remained, with apparently still more than its ancient majesty. 'Affairs that concerned the state, and the most important affairs which concerned individuals[3],' were still handled by it with apparent freedom; its decrees come to differ only in form from laws; in choosing magistrates, who by virtue of such magistracy become senators[4], it is formally a self-elective body; in form even the right of choosing the princeps himself devolves upon it[5]; the whole narrative of Tacitus is full of its debates and decisions. As of old, it awards triumphal honours[6] and other recognition of victories[7], and sends its thanks or rewards to allied kings as representative of the state[8]; it decrees public funerals[9] and other honours to the dead[10]; it makes regulations to repress disorder[11], and curb extravagance[12] and immorality[13], and to deal stringently with the abuses of religious[14] or superstitious practices[15]; while, abroad, all important questions appertaining to the administration of its own provinces are referred to it; one such occasion, that of the deputation from Asia on the right of sanctuary, being described as unusually impressive[16]. Besides all this, the senate has supplanted the praetor's tribunal as the great high court of criminal justice[17], before which culprits of rank are almost always arraigned, especially on the constantly recurring charge of 'maiestas.'

[1] 1. 15, 1. [2] 'Panem et circenses' Juv. 10, 81. [3] 4. 6, 2.
[4] As a rule, the senate was entered through the quaestorship.
[5] This form of election is exercised after the death of Augustus (1. 11-13).
[6] 1. 55, 1; 72, 1; 2. 64, 1, &c. [7] 2. 41, 1; 3. 47, 3, &c.
[8] 4. 26, 4. [9] 3. 48, 1, &c. [10] 2. 83, 2, &c.
[11] 1. 77, 2; 4. 14, 4. [12] 2. 33, 1, &c. [13] 2. 85, 1.
[14] 2. 85, 5. [15] 2. 32, 5. [16] 3. 60, 6. [17] See 2. 27, 4, &c.

Those, however, who could look below the surface knew well that, not the senate, but Caesar through the senate, governed; and that it acted rather as representative of him than of the state. Every magistrate was really so far his nominee that only such candidates as had his recommendation, or at least his approval[1], could be chosen; and as the entry to the senate itself was through magistracy[2] or by the direct nomination of the princeps[3], every senator must have felt that he owed his position to Caesar; who, besides the powers formally conferred on him, had all the advantage arising from the general recognition that, whoever was master of the legions, was master of as much else as he thought fit to claim.

If we look to the practical working of the imperial administration, the chief difference felt by the inhabitants of Rome must have consisted in the greater maintenance of order. Seven thousand 'vigiles' were distributed over the city; a more distinctly military police force of three urban cohorts[4], each a thousand strong, enforced the summary jurisdiction of the city praefect; and nine praetorian cohorts[5] of similar strength were at hand, if needed. This security must have been in itself no small boon to trade and industry; and even the poorest class must have found their gain in the more systematic regulation of the corn supply[6].

In the empire outside, the most important change to notice is the division of provinces made in B.C. 27 between Augustus and the senate, whereby only the more peaceful were retained by the latter; those lately acquired, or otherwise needing the presence of military force, being taken over by Caesar.

Of the senatorial provinces, the two chief were Asia and Africa. The former, comprising a large triangular tract with its base on the western coast of Asia Minor, included generally Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and nearly all Phrygia, with most of the islands in the Aegean, and had its metropolis and seat of government at Ephesus. The latter would coincide in modern geography with the western part of Tripoli, the whole of Tunis,

[1] See on 1.14, 6; 15, 2. [2] I. e. by the quaestorship (see above, p. 26).

[3] Some senators in later times are styled 'adlecti a principe.'

[4] 4. 5, 5. [5] Id. [6] 2. 87, 1; 4. 6, 6.

and considerable portion of Algeria; its chief cities being Utica and the new Julian colony of Carthage.

For the proconsulship of these two great provinces lots were drawn annually by the two senior consulars who had not previously held either[1]. The other senatorial provinces, eight or nine in number[2], were similarly allotted to annual governors, also styled proconsuls, though usually only of praetorian rank. Their duties, as a rule, were civil only, nor are any soldiers, except a few by way of police, to be found generally in these provinces[3]. Besides the assistance of one or more legati of high senatorial rank, each proconsul was attended by a quaestor, who received all sums due to the aerarium at Rome.

The Caesarian provinces, whose revenues formed the main support of the fiscus, comprised all those fronting the enemies of the empire, and many other important countries. Their governors, appointed directly by the princeps, held office during his pleasure, usually for from three to five years, but often for much longer periods[4], and, like proconsuls of senatorial provinces, had the assistance of 'legati,' as also of a 'procurator fisci,' whose duties answered to those of the quaestor. Holding often the command of large armies, and having much fuller power of life and death[5], these governors were in a far higher real position than that of a senatorial proconsul; although, in recognition of the sole 'proconsulare imperium' of Caesar, none had a higher title than that of 'legatus Augusti propraetore.'

To the greatest provinces, in which large forces were stationed, legati of consular rank were always sent[6]. Foremost

[1] See on 2. 32, 2.

[2] Those usually so reckoned were Sicily, Sardinia (with Corsica), Hispania Baetica, Gallia Narbonensis, Macedonia, Achaia, Bithynia, Cyprus, and Crete (with Cyrene); but some of these were at times given over to Caesar. See 1. 76, 4, and note on 2. 85, 5.

[3] Africa formed an exception to this rule, having a regular force of one legion, to which, during part of the war with Tacfarinas, a second was added (see on 4. 5, 3).

[4] See 1. 80, 2.

[5] Senatorial proconsuls could not (except in Africa) execute a soldier; and any citizen, under a capital charge, could appeal from any governor to Caesar. A well-known instance is that of St. Paul (Acts xxv. 11).

[6] Besides those here mentioned, Hispania Tarraconensis, Moesia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, belonged at the time of Tiberius to this class.

among these are Upper and Lower Germany and Syria, each with its garrison of four legions[1], those of the German armies fully organized and trained by war against the unsubdued tribes beyond the Rhine, and those of Syria charged with maintaining the prestige of Rome against Parthia.

Another class, corresponding to the second class of senatorial provinces, comprised those in which only a single legion, or even a smaller force, was stationed. In these the legatus was usually only of praetorian rank, but had otherwise the same status as in the greater provinces. As an example of such may be taken the main divisions of Gaul, Gallia Belgica, Lugdunensis, and Aquitania ; for all of which insignificant forces seem ordinarily to have sufficed ; the German legions, though strictly within Gaul, being under separate command[2].

In a third class of provinces of still less importance, the procurator, of only equestrian rank, instead of being placed under a legatus, is himself the acting governor, perhaps usually in some subordination to the legatus of a neighbouring province. One well-known instance of such a government in the time of Tiberius, that of Pontius Pilatus in Judaea, shows that an officer even of this rank might have command of at least a cohort[3].

Egypt, as the great granary of Rome, had an exceptional position, and, though held by a considerable force, was entrusted to no legatus, but jealously retained by the princeps under his own control[4], with a vicegerent of equestrian rank styled 'praefectus.'

All governors of provinces had fixed salaries from the treasury; and cruelty and extortion, though by no means things of the past, enjoyed far less impunity than such as collusive accusers, or judges interested in connivance, had often secured for the culprit in former times. From this cause, probably also from the more equitable assessment of tribute through a systematic census, the provinces are admitted to have been gainers by the fall of the Republic[5], and there is evidence that those placed under Caesar were more economically governed than the senatorial[6].

[1] On the German legions, see 1. 31, &c.; on those of Syria, see 4. 5, 4.
[2] See 3. 42, 2, &c. [3] St. Matth. xxvii, 27, &c. [4] See 2. 59, 4.
[5] 1. 1, 2. [6] See on 1. 76, 4.

Several states and kingdoms not formally reduced to provinces, but left semi-independent under native rulers[1], helped to strengthen the empire against hostile nations.

The great military force of the empire was massed along its north-eastern frontier[2], formed, roughly speaking, by the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. The eight legions of Germany and the four of Syria have been already mentioned; the line of the Danube was secured by five in Moesia and Pannonia, supported by two more in Dalmatia; to these are to be added two in Egypt, one in Africa, and three in Spain, making up the whole standing force of twenty-five legions. Italy had no other garrison than the praetorian and urban cohorts (whose headquarters were in Rome), and the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna.

The legion, commanded by a legatus[3] of senatorial, often even of praetorian rank[4], consisted of ten cohorts, each subdivided into three maniples, each of which contained two centuries. All its soldiers, though recruited freely from all parts of the empire[5], were Roman citizens; but a large auxiliary or non-citizen force was always attached to it, supplementing it chiefly with light troops and cavalry: the whole corps being thus made up to a strength of about 10,000 of all arms and descriptions. The main armies may thus be rated in the aggregate at about 250,000 men; to which perhaps 100,000 may be added for the troops of Italy, the marines of the fleets, and the detached bodies stationed in peaceful provinces.

This organization as a whole dates from Augustus, and was maintained by Tiberius as he found it, without other change of importance than the transference of the election of magistrates to the senate[6], and the concentration of the praetorian guard in Rome[7].

His general policy was to preserve order and maintain existing settlements[8], and to avoid wars[9]. Probably from a conviction that the conquest of Germany was impracticable, he re-

[1] Among such were Thrace (2. 64, 3) and Mauretania (4. 5, 3). Others are mentioned in 4. 5, 4.

[2] On the number and distribution of the legions, see 4. 5.

[3] 1. 44, 3, &c. [4] See on 2. 36, 1.

[5] See 4. 4, 4. [6] See above, p. 25. [7] 4. 2, 1.

[8] 2. 65, 1. [9] 4. 32, 3.

called Germanicus as soon as the defeat of Varus seemed sufficiently avenged [1], and allowed no further aggressive expeditions in any quarter.

His domestic administration during the first eight years of his rule receives the full commendation of the historian, except in respect of the trials for 'maiestas [2],' a charge which, even in those years, had been strained beyond the limits necessary to ensure respect for the government [3], and in regard of which a change still for the worse, as regards frequency of prosecutions and severity of sentences, is to be noted in the period covered by the fourth Book [4].

Out of these trials arose the evils of espionage in private life [5] and the officious activity of a large body of professional accusers [6], encouraged by the more or less open support of the prince, and often gorged with extravagant rewards [7].

Hence ensued a general state of panic and suspicion; men of rank stooped to a servility so abject as to defeat its own object, and to disgust and irritate him whom they sought to please [8]: others provoked their fate by outspoken opposition [9]: few had the tact to tread a middle path [10]: and the great aim of any public man was not so much to serve the state as to preserve himself.

Literature shared the fate of politics: history [11] and most other kinds of composition were dangerous to their authors; and the result is, that hardly any generation appears to be so barren in intellectual activity as that of the rule of Tiberius [12].

[1] 2. 26, 2. [2] 4. 6, 3. [3] See 1. 72, &c. [4] See 4. 1, 1. [5] See 4. 68–70. [6] See 1. 74, 1; 2. 27, 1. [7] See 2. 32, 1; 4. 30, 4. [8] 3. 47, 4; 65, 3. [9] 4. 21, 1. [10] 4. 20, 4. [11] 4. 34, 1.

[12] Of the works preserved to us, none rank higher than the short history of Velleius Paterculus and the fables of Phaedrus.

IV. GENEALOGY OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

STEM A. DIRECT AND COLLATERAL DESCENDANTS OF AUGUSTUS.

(1) **C. Octavius.** d. B.C. 58. = **Atia.** d. B.C. 43.

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(2) **Octavia.** See next page.

Scribonia. = (3) **C. Octavius.** [CAESAR AUGUSTUS.] b. Sep. 23, B.C. 63. d. Aug. 19, A.D. 14. = **Livia Drusilla.** [Livia Augusta.] See B. 1. d. A.D. 29.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa. d. B.C. 12. See 1. 3, 3. = (4) **Julia.** d. A.D. 14. See 1. 53, 1. = **Ti. Claudius Nero.** B. 2.

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(5) **C. Caesar.** d. A.D. 4. See 1. 3, 3.

(6) **L. Caesar.** d. A.D. 2. See 1. 3, 3.

(7) **Julia.** d. A.D. 28. See 4. 71, 6.

Germanicus Caesar. B. 5. = (8) **Agrippina.** See 1. 33, 2, &c. d. A.D. 33.

(9) **Agrippa Postumus.** d. A.D. 14. See 1. 6.

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(10) **Nero Caesar.** See 3. 29, 1, &c. d. A.D. 31. = **Julia.** B. 8.

(11) **Drusus Caesar.** See 4. 4, 1, &c. d. A.D. 33.

(12) **Gaius Caesar.** [CALIGULA.] See 1. 41, 3.

(13) **Agrippina.** See No. 22, and 4. 75, 1.

(14) **Drusilla.** See on 2. 41, 4.

(15) **Julia.** See 2. 54, 1.

STEM A (*continued*).

C. Marcellus. d. B.C. 41. = Octavia. (See above, No. 2.) d. cir. B.C. 11. = **M. Antonius** (Triumvir). d. B.C. 30.

Children of C. Marcellus and Octavia:

- (16) **M. Marcellus** = **Julia.** No. 4. — See 1. 3, 1. d. B.C. 23.
- (17) **Marcella** maior. — (18) **Marcella** minor. — See on 2. 50, 1; 51, 2; 4. 44, 5.

Children of M. Antonius and Octavia:

- **L. Domitius** Aheno-barbus. d. A.D. 25. See 4. 44, 1. = (19) **Antonia** maior. See on 4. 44, 3.
- (20) **Antonia** minor. See 3. 3, 2. = **Claudius** Drusus. B. 3. — See B.

Son of L. Domitius and Antonia maior:

- (21) Cn. **Domitius Ahenobarbus.** See 4. 75, 1. = **Agrippina.** A. 13.

Son of Cn. Domitius and Agrippina:

- (22) **L. Domitius.** [NERO CAESAR.]

STEM B. FAMILY OF THE CLAUDIAN CAESARS.

(1) Ti. Claudius Nero. d. B.C. 33. = Livia Drusilla. See A. 3.

- (2) Ti. Claudius Nero. [TI. CAESAR AUGUSTUS.] b. Nov. 16, B.C. 42. d. March 16, A.D. 37. = Julia. See A. 4.
  - Vipsania Agrippina. d. A.D. 20. See 3. 19, 4. = (2) Ti. Claudius Nero.
    - (4) Drusus Caesar. d. A.D. 23. See 4. 8, 1. = Livia. See No. 6.
      - (8) Julia. See 3. 29, 4. = Nero Caesar. See A. 10.
      - (9, 10) Twin Sons. b. A.D. 19. See 2. 84, 1.
- (3) Nero Claudius Drusus. d. B.C. 9. = Antonia minor. See A. 20.
  - (5) Germanicus Caesar. b. B.C. 15. d. A.D. 19. = Agrippina. See A. 8.
  - (6) Livia. See 4. 3, 3, &c. = Drusus Caesar. See No. 4.
  - (7) Ti. Claudius Drusus. [TI. CLAUDIUS CAESAR.] b. B.C. 10.

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48. Death of Sulpicius Quirinus. 49–51. Clutorius Priscus put to death by sentence of the senate for a poem in anticipation of the death of Drusus; speech of M'. Lepidus; Tiberius blames the haste shown.

A. U. C. 775, A. D. 22. C. Sulpicius Galba, D. Haterius Agrippa, coss.

52–55. The aediles complain of the defiance of sumptuary laws, especially in luxuries of the table; letter of Tiberius. The subject allowed to drop; but, after many years' licence, luxury abated in the time of Vespasian. 56, 57. Drusus associated in the tribunician power; extravagant compliments decreed. 58. Servius Maluginensis, flamen Dialis, claims his lot for the proconsulate of Asia. 59. Drusus thought to have shown pride in only writing to the senate.

60–63. Embassies to the senate from Greek cities in Asia touching the right of asylum claimed for their temples. 64. Return of Tiberius in consequence of the illness of Augusta; vows offered for her recovery. 65. Prevalence of servility in the senate.

66–69. Trial and condemnation of C. Silanus for extortion and treasonable conduct in Asia; Tiberius declines the responsibility which the proposal of Dolabella would cast on him. 70. Condemnation of Caesius Cordus; dismissal of the charge against L. Ennius; pretended indignation of Ateius Capito. 71. Offering to Fortuna Equestris for recovery of Augusta; the claim of the flamen Dialis to a province disallowed. 72. Restoration of the 'Basilica Pauli' by Lepidus; that of the theatre of Pompeius undertaken by Caesar. 73, 74. Successes of Blaesus against Tacfarinas, and honours awarded to him. 75. Deaths of Asinius Saloninus and Ateius Capito. 76. Death of Junia, wife of Cassius and sister of Brutus; her will and funeral.

BOOK IV.

A. U. C. 776, A. D. 23. C. Asinius Pollio, C. Antistius Vetus, coss.

1. Ascendancy of Seianus; his origin and character. 2. Concentration of the praetorian guards in a camp; influence of Seianus with the soldiers and the senate. 3. His schemes against Drusus. 4. Drusus, son of Germanicus, enters public life; professed intention of Tiberius to visit the provinces. 5, 6. Review of the military and civil organization of the empire. 7–9. Hostility of Drusus and Seianus; the former poisoned; behaviour of Tiberius on his son's death; honours to his memory. 10, 11. A story, that Tiberius had himself caused the death of Drusus, rejected. 12. Designs of Seianus against the family of Germanicus. 13. Provincial grievances dealt with by Tiberius. 14. Further deputations on right of asylum; pantomime actors expelled from Italy. 15. Death of Lucilius Longus and of a son of Drusus; condemnation of Lucilius Capito; the Asiatic cities permitted to erect a temple to Tiberius, Augusta, and the senate. 16. Regulations respecting the flamen Dialis, and the Vestals.

A. U. C. 777, A. D. 24. Ser. Cornelius Cethegus, L. Visellius Varro, coss.

17. Jealousy of Tiberius at mention of Nero and Drusus in the 'vota solemnia.' 18–20. Trial and death of C. Silius, and banishment of his wife Sosia; independence of character shown by M'. Lepidus. 21. L. Piso is accused, and dies before trial; Cassius Severus banished to Seriphos. 22. Plautius Silvanus convicted of the murder of his wife. 23–26. Tacfarinas finally defeated and killed by Dolabella; presents sent from the senate to Ptolemaeus, king of Mauretania. 27. An incipient servile insurrection crushed near Brundisium. 28–30. Vibius Serenus accused by his son; the extreme penalty modified. 31. Cominius pardoned for a libel; Suillius condemned for selling justice; Firmius Catus for false accusation. 32, 33. Apology of Tacitus for the monotony of his subject.

A. U. C. 778, A. D. 25. Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, M. Asinius Agrippa, coss.

34, 35. Trial of Cremutius Cordus for praise of Brutus and Cassius; his defence and suicide. 36. Charges brought before young Drusus, praefectus urbis; Cyzicus deprived of its freedom. 37, 38. Tiberius

rejects the petition to allow a temple to himself in Spain. 39, 40. Seianus asks Livia in marriage; reply of Tiberius. 41. Seianus urges him to retire from Rome. 42. The trial of Votienus influences Tiberius in this direction; others severely sentenced. 43. Decision on a question of boundary between Messenia and Laconia, and on other provincial matters. 44. Deaths of Cn. Lentulus and L. Domitius at Rome, and of L. Antonius at Massilia. 45. Murder of L. Piso in Spain.

A. U. C. 779, A. D. 26. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, C. Calvisius Sabinus, coss.

46–51. Triumphalia awarded to Poppaeus Sabinus, for the suppression of an insurrection in Thrace. 52–54. Agrippina, alarmed at the condemnation of her cousin Claudia Pulchra, remonstrates with Tiberius, and afterwards requests him to give her a husband; Seianus increases the enmity between them. 55, 56. Eleven Asiatic cities contend for the honour of possessing the temple to be erected to Tiberius; Sardes and Smyrna preferred, and the latter selected. 57, 58. Tiberius permanently quits Rome; his reasons suggested, and predictions respecting him discussed. 59. His life saved by Seianus on the falling of a cave. 60. Schemes of Seianus against Nero. 61. Deaths of Asinius Agrippa and Q. Haterius.

A. U. C. 780, A. D. 27. M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, L. Calpurnius Piso, coss.

62, 63. Disastrous loss of life from the fall of an amphitheatre at Fidenae. 64, 65. Destructive fire on the Mons Caelius; liberality of Tiberius, and compliment paid to him; origin of the name. 66. Quintilius Varus accused by Domitius Afer and P. Dolabella. 67. Retirement of Tiberius to Capreae; description of the island.

A. U. C. 781, A. D. 28. App. Junius Silanus, P. Silius Nerva, coss.

68–70. Titius Sabinus, a friend of the family of Germanicus, who had been entrapped by disgraceful means, denounced and executed on the opening day of the year. 71. Hints of Tiberius against Agrippina and Nero; death of Julia, grand-daughter of Augustus. 72, 73. Rising of the Frisii; want of energy shown by L. Apronius in dealing with it. 74. Visit of Tiberius and Seianus to Campania; concourse and servility of the senate and people. 75. Marriage of Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, to Cn. Domitius.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER I.

1. Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere; libertatem et
2 consulatum L. Brutus instituit. dictaturae ad tempus sume-
bantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque
3 tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. non Cinnae,
non Sullae longa dominatio; et Pompei Crassique potentia
cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum
cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis
4 sub imperium accepit. sed veteris populi Romani prospera
vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; tempori-
busque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec
5 gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaique et Claudii
ac Neronis res florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam
6 occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt. inde consilium
mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii prin-
cipatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul
habeo.

2. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam publica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis,

populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere
paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere,
nullo adversante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione
cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior,
opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti
tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. neque 2
provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus
populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam ma-
gistratuum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo
pecunia turbabantur.

3. Ceterum Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Mar-
cellum sororis filium admodum adulescentem pontificatu et
curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam ignobilem loco, bonum militia
et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox de-
functo Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium Neronem et
Claudium Drusum privignos imperatoriis nominibus auxit,
integra etiam tum domo sua. nam genitos Agrippa Gaium 2
ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita
puerili praetexta principes iuventutis appellari, destinari con-
sules specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. ut Agrippa 3
vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensis ex-
ercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum
mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Druso-
que pridem extincto Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta
vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis
adsumitur omnisque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris,
ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. nam senem 4
Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam
Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiecerit, rudem sane
bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius
tamen flagitii conpertum. at hercule Germanicum Druso 5
ortum octo apud Rhenum legionibus inposuit adscirique per
adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii

6 filius iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. bellum
ea tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, ab-
olendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo
exercitum quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob
7 praemium. domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vo-
cabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes
plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque reliquus qui
rem publicam vidisset?

4. Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri
moris: omnes exuta aequalitate iussa principis aspectare,
nulla in praesens formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus se-
2 que et domum et pacem sustentavit. postquam provecta iam
senectus aegro et corpore fatigabatur aderatque finis et spes
novae, pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bel-
3 lum pavescere, alii cupere. pars multo maxima inminentis
dominos variis rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et
ignominiā accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia
tantae moli parem, Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spec-
tatum bello, set vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia,
multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam premantur, erumpere.
4 hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice; con-
gestos iuveni consulatus, triumphos; ne iis quidem annis,
quibus Rhodi specie secessus exul egerit, aliud quam iram
5 et simulationem et secretas lubidines meditatum. accedere
matrem muliebri inpotentiā: serviendum feminae duobusque
insuper adulescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant,
quandoque distrahant.

5. Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Au-
2 gusti, et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. quippe rumor
incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis
et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum
3 Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis
spemque ex eo fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur:

quod Maximum uxori Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae. gna- 4
rum id Caesari; neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium
an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus
semet incusantis, quod causa exitii marito fuisset. utcumque 5
se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius pro-
peris matris litteris accitur; neque satis conpertum est, spi-
rantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam an exanimem
reppererit. acribus namque custodiis domum et vias saepse- 6
rat Livia, laetique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec pro-
visis quae tempus monebat simul excessisse Augustum et
rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

6. Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae
caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis firmatus animo
centurio aegre confecit. nihil de ea re Tiberius apud sena- 2
tum disseruit: patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset
tribuno custodiae adposito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte
adficere, quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset. multa 3
sine dubio saevaque Augustus de moribus adulescentis que-
stus, ut exilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat:
ceterum in nullius umquam suorum necem duravit, neque
mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat.
propius vero Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc nover- 4
calibus odiis, suspecti et invisi iuvenis caedem festinavisse.
nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, factum esse quod im- 5
perasset, neque imperasse sese et rationem facti reddendam
apud senatum respondit. quod postquam Sallustius Crispus 6
particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) com-
perit, metuens ne reus subderetur, iuxta periculoso ficta seu
vera promeret, monuit Liviam ne arcana domus, ne consilia
amicorum, ministeria militum vulgarentur, neve Tiberius vim
principatus resolveret cuncta ad senatum vocando: eam con-
dicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si
uni reddatur.

7. At Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques.
2 quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultu-
que composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu tristiores pri-
mordio, lacrimas gaudium, questus adulationem miscebant.
3 Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius consules primi in verba
Tiberii Caesaris iuravere, apudque eos Seius Strabo et C.
Turranius, ille praetoriarum cohortium praefectus, hic an-
4 nonae; mox senatus milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius
cuncta per consules incipiebat, tamquam vetere re publica
5 et ambiguus imperandi: ne edictum quidem, quo patres in
curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione
6 posuit sub Augusto acceptae. verba edicti fuere pauca
et sensu permodesto: de honoribus parentis consulturum,
neque abscedere a corpore, idque unum ex publicis muneri-
7 bus usurpare. sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis co-
hortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiae, arma, cetera aulae;
8 miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur. litteras ad
exercitus tamquam adepto principatu misit, nusquam cuncta-
9 bundus nisi cum in senatu loqueretur. causa praecipua ex
formidine, ne Germanicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, im-
mensa sociorum auxilia, mirus apud populum favor, habere
10 imperium quam exspectare mallet. dabat et famae, ut vo-
catus electusque potius a re publica videretur quam per
11 uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione inrepsisse. postea
cognitum est ad introspiciendas etiam procerum voluntates
inductam dubitationem: nam verba vultus in crimen detor-
quens recondebat.

8. Nihil primo senatus die agi passus *est* nisi de supremis
Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae Ti-
2 berium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Iuliam
nomenque Augustum adsumebatur; in spem secundam ne-
potes pronepotesque, tertio gradu primores civitatis scrip-
serat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed iactantia gloriaque ad

posteros. legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo 3
et plebi quadringentiens triciens quinquiens, praetoriarum
cohortium militibus singula nummum milia, *urbanis quin-*
genos, legionariis aut cohortibus civium Romanorum trecenos
nummos viritim dedit. tum consultatum de honoribus; ex 4
quis *qui* maxime insignes visi, ut porta triumphali duceretur
funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab
eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere.
addebat Messalla Valerius renovandum per annos sacra- 5
mentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio num
se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse re-
spondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent con-
silio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola
species adulandi supererat. conclamant patres corpus ad 6
rogum umeris senatorum ferendum. remisit Caesar adro-
ganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quon-
dam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum
in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cre-
mari vellent. die funeris milites velut praesidio stetere, 7
multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus
acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis in-
prospere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessi-
mum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur: nunc senem
principem, longa potentia, provisis etiam heredum in rem
publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepul-
tura eius quieta foret.

9. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana
mirantibus, quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii prin-
ceps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo
in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset. numerus etiam 2
consulatuum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C.
Marium simul aequaverat, continuata per septem et triginta
annos tribunicia potestas, nomen imperatoris semel atque

3 viciens partum aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova. at
4 apud prudentes vita eius varie extollebatur arguebaturve. hi
pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua
nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quae neque
parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes. multa An-
tonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido
5 concessisse. postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libi-
dines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae re-
6 medium fuisse quam *ut* ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen
neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem pub-
licam; mari Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum im-
perium; legiones, provincias, classes, cuncta inter se conexa;
ius apud cives, modestiam apud socios; urbem ipsam mag-
nifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies
esset.

10. Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora
rei publicae obtentui sumpta: ceterum cupidine dominandi
concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adulescente
privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam
Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox ubi decreto patrum
fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, sive
hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites
Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, utriusque
copias occupavisse; extortum invito senatu consulatum, ar-
maque quae in Antonium acceperit contra rem publicam
versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum ne ipsis
2 quidem qui fecere laudatas. sane Cassii et Brutorum exi-
tus paternis inimicitiis datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia
publicis utilitatibus remittere: sed Pompeium imagine pacis,
sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Antonium,
Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis inlectum,
3 subdolae adfinitatis poenas morte exsolvisse. pacem sine
dubio post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque

clades, interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iullos. nec 4
domesticis abstinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per
ludibrium pontifices an concepto necdum edito partu rite
nuberet; Q. † Tedii et Vedii Pollionis luxus; postremo
Livia gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum
noverca. nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis 5
et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet.
ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura succes- 6
sorem adscitum, sed quoniam adrogantiam saevitiamque eius
introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quaesi-
visse. etenim Augustus paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio 7
tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quam-
quam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et in-
stitutis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret. ce- 8
terum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelestes reli-
giones decernuntur.

11. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. et ille varia edis-
serebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. solam divi 2
Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem: se in partem cura-
rum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse quam arduum,
quam subiectum fortunae regendi cuncta onus. proinde in 3
civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia de-
ferrent: plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus
exsecuturos. plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat: 4
Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura
sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba: tunc
vero nitenti, ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et
ambiguum magis implicabantur. at patres, quibus unus me- 5
tus si intellegere viderentur, in questus lacrimas vota effundi;
ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere,
cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit. opes publicae con- 6
tinebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot
classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessi-

7 tates ac largitiones. quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat
Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos
imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

12. Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procum-
bente, dixit forte Tiberius se ut non toti rei publicae parem,
ita quaecumque pars sibi mandaretur, eius tutelam suscep-
2 turum. tum Asinius Gallus 'interrogo' inquit, 'Caesar,
3 quam partem rei publicae mandari tibi velis.' perculsus
inprovisa interrogatione paulum reticuit: dein collecto animo
respondit nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere aliquid
4 aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet. rur-
sum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem coniectaverat) non
idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae separari nequirent,
sed ut sua confessione argueretur, unum esse rei publicae
5 corpus atque unius animo regendum. addidit laudem de
Augusto Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum quaeque in
6 toga per tot annos egregie fecisset admonuit. nec ideo iram
eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium
Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor
fuerat, plus quam civilia agitaret Pollionisque Asinii patris
ferociam retineret.

13. Post quae L. Arruntius haud multum discrepans a
Galli oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla ve-
tus in Arruntium ira: sed divitem, promptum, artibus egre-
2 giis et pari fama publice, suspectabat. quippe Augustus
supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci prin-
cipem locum suffecturi abnuerent aut inpares vellent vel
îdem possent cuperentque, M'. Lepidum dixerat capacem
sed aspernantem, Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L.
3 Arruntium non indignum et, si casus daretur, ausurum. de
prioribus consentitur, pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tra-
didere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox criminibus
4 struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. etiam Q. Haterius et

Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere, Hate-
rius cum dixisset 'quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse
caput rei publicae?', Scaurus quia dixerat, spem esse ex eo
non inritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure
tribuniciae potestatis non intercessisset. in Haterium statim 5
invectus est; Scaurum, cui inplacabilius irascebatur, silentio
tramisit. fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singu- 6
lorum flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium,
sed ut negare et rogari desineret. constat Haterium, cum 7
deprecandi causa Palatium introisset ambulantisque Tiberii
genua advolveretur, prope a militibus interfectum, quia Ti-
berius casu an manibus eius inpeditus prociderat. neque
tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Au-
gustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

14. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. alii parentem, 2
alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris
adscriberetur 'Iuliae filius' censebant. ille moderandos femi- 3
narum honores dictitans eademque se temperantia usurum
in iis quae sibi tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et mu-
liebre fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens ne lictorem
quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia
huiusce modi prohibuit. at Germanico Caesari proconsulare 4
imperium petivit, missique legati qui deferrent, simul maesti-
tiam eius ob excessum Augusti solarentur. quo minus idem 5
pro Druso postularetur, ea causa quod designatus consul
Drusus praesensque erat. candidatos praeturae duodecim 6
nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum; et hortante se-
natu ut augeret, iure iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum.

15. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata
sunt: nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis,
quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. neque populus 2
ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus
largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit,

moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos com-
3 mendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. inter quae
tribuni plebei petivere, ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui
4 de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur. sed
decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque per circum triumphali veste
5 uterentur: curru vehi haud permissum. mox celebratio
annua ad praetorem translata, cui inter cives et peregrinos
iurisdictio evenisset.

16. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas
legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mu-
tatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem
2 praemiorum ostendebat. castris aestivis tres simul legiones
habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso, qui fine Augusti et
initiis Tiberii auditis ob iustitium aut gaudium intermiserat
3 solita munia. eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pes-
simi cuiusque sermonibus praebere aures, denique luxum et
4 otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari. erat in
castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum,
dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrio-
5 nali studio doctus. is inperitos animos et quaenam post
Augustum militiae condicio ambigentes inpellere paulatim
nocturnis conloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis
melioribus deterrimum quemque congregare.

17. Postremo promptis iam et aliis seditionis ministris
velut contionabundus interrogabat, cur paucis centurionibus,
2 paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum oboedirent. quando
ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc
3 principem precibus vel armis adirent? satis per tot annos
ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia
senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerent.
4 ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum
5 tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. ac si quis
tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi

per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium
accipiant. enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: 6
denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari: hinc
vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vaca-
tiones munerum redimi. at hercule verbera et vulnera, 7
duram hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem
pacem sempiterna. nec aliud levamentum quam si certis 8
sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent,
sextus decumus stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub
vexillis tenerentur, sed isdem in castris praemium pecunia
solveretur. an praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios ac- 9
ceperint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur,
plus periculorum suscipere? non obtrectari a se urbanas 10
excubias: sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis
hostem aspici.

18. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum
notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus
exprobrantes. postremo eo furoris venere, ut tres legiones 2
miscere in unam agitaverint. depulsi aemulatione, quia suae 3
quisque legioni eum honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt atque
una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant; simul congerunt 4
caespites, exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes
foret. properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac re- 5
tinebat singulos, clamitans 'mea potius caede imbuite manus:
leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore de-
sciscitis. aut incolumis fidem legionum retinebo, aut iugulatus 6
paenitentiam adcelerabo.'

19. Aggerabatur nihilo minus caespes iamque pectori
usque adcreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum
omisere. Blaesus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et 2
turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait, neque ve-
teres ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto
tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes prin-

3 cipis curas onerari. si tamen tenderent in pace temptare
quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint,
cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim medi-
tentur? decernerent legatos seque coram mandata darent.
4 adclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur
peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis: cetera
5 mandaturos, ubi prima provenissent. profecto iuvene modi-
cum otium: sed superbire miles, quod filius legati orator
publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate expressa quae
per modestiam non obtinuissent.

20. Interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum
missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum
in castris accepere, vexilla convellunt direptisque proximis
vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat, reti-
nentis centuriones inrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus
insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum
castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant
aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes an
tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret.
2 quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris
praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, vetus
operis ac laboris et eo inmitior, quia toleraverat.

21. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circum-
2 iecta populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praeda onus-
tos, ad terrorem ceterorum adfici verberibus, claudi carcere
iubet; nam etiam tum legato a centurionibus et optimo
3 quoque manipularium parebatur. illi obniti trahentibus,
prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina singu-
lorum, modo centuriam quisque cuius manipularis erat, co-
hortem, legionem, eadem omnibus inminere clamitantes.
4 simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum ac deos obtes-
tantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam misericordiam
5 metum et iras permoverent. adcurritur ab universis, et car-

cere effracto solvunt vincula desertoresque ac rerum capita-
lium damnatos sibi iam miscent.

22. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. et Vi-
bulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi adle-
vatus circumstantium umeris, apud turbatos et quid pararet
intentos 'vos quidem' inquit 'his innocentibus et miserrimis
lucem et spiritum reddidistis: sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis
fratrem mihi reddit? quem missum ad vos a Germanico
exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima iugulavit
per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque
armat. responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver abieceris: ne hostes 2
quidem sepultura invident. cum osculis, cum lacrimis do- 3
lorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari iube, dum
interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum con-
sulebamus, hi sepeliant.'

23. Incendebat haec fletu et pectus atque os manibus
verberans. mox disiectis quorum per umeros sustinebatur, 2
praeceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consterna-
tionis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores, qui e
servitio Blaesi erant, pars ceteram eiusdem familiam vin-
cirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderentur. ac ni 3
propere neque corpus ullum reperiri, et servos adhibitis cru-
ciatibus abnuere caedem, neque illi fuisse umquam fratrem
pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant. tribunos 4
tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere, sarcinae fugien-
tium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus
facetiis vocabulum 'cedo alteram' indiderant, quia fracta
vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam pos-
cebat. ceteros latebrae texere, uno retento Clemente Iulio, 5
qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob
promptum ingenium. quin ipsae inter se legiones octava 6
et quinta decuma ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cog-
nomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuen-

tur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas
interiecisset.

24. Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quae-
que maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum
filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohorti-
bus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum.
2 3 et cohortes delecto milite supra solitum firmatae. additur
magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui
tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus
Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud
Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum
4 praemiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquanti quasi per
officium obviae fuere legiones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque
insignibus fulgentes, sed inluvie deformi et vultu, quamquam
maestitiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores.

25. Postquam vallum introiit, portas stationibus firmant,
globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent:
2 ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. stabat Drusus
silentium manu poscens. illi quotiens oculos ad multitudi-
nem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, rursum viso
Caesare trepidare; murmur incertum, atrox clamor et re-
pente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terre-
3 bantque. tandem interrupto tumultu litteras patris recitat,
in quis perscriptum erat, praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum le-
gionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi
primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de
postulatis eorum; misisse interim filium, ut sine cunctatione
concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui ser-
vanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi
par esset.

26. Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi cen-
2 turioni quae perferret. is orditur de missione a sedecim
annis, de praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum

stipendium foret, ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. ad ea
Drusus cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore
turbatur. cur venisset neque augendis militum stipendiis 3
neque adlevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi li-
centia? at hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Ti- 4
berium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari
solitum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse. numquamne ad 5
se nisi filios familiarum venturos? novum id plane quod im-
perator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat. eundem 6
ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia
indicantur: an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro
esse?

27. Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum
militum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes,
causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi Cn.
Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare
Drusum credebatur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari.
nec multo post digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu peri- 2
culi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo
pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque com-
modis legionum adversaretur; simul ingruunt, saxa iaciunt.
iamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus adcursu multi- 3
tudinis quae cum Druso advenerat protectus est.

28. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit:
nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. id miles 2
rationis ignarus omen praesentium accepit, suis laboribus
defectionem sideris adsimulans, prospereque cessura qua per-
gerent, si fulgor et claritudo deae redderetur. igitur aeris 3
sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere: prout splen-
didior obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere; et postquam ortae
nubes offecere visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt
mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae semel mentes, sibi aeter-
num laborem portendi, sua facinora aversari deos lamen-

4 tantur. utendum inclinatione ea Caesar et quae casus obtu-
lerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus circumiri tentoria iubet;
5 accitur centurio Clemens et si alii bonis artibus grati in
vulgus. hi vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se inse-
6 runt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. 'quousque filium
imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percen-
nione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius
et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur?
denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani
7 capessent? quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi
ad paenitentiam sumus? tarda sunt quae in commune ex-
postulantur: privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim re-
8 cipias.' commotis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis,
9 tironem a veterano, legionem a legione dissociant. tum
redire paulatim amor obsequii: omittunt portas, signa unum
in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes re-
ferunt.

29. Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis
dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia;
negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si vi-
deat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri ut placatus legionum
2 preces exciperet. orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apo-
nius, eques Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius,
3 primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. certatum
inde sententiis, cum alii opperiendos legatos atque interim
comitate permulcendum militem censerent, alii fortioribus
remediis agendum: nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni pa-
veant; ubi pertimuerint, inpune contemni: dum superstitio
urgeat, adiciendos ex duce metus sublatis seditionis auctori-
4 bus. promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat: vocatos
Vibulenum et Percennium interfici iubet. tradunt plerique
intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora extra vallum
abiecta ostentui.

30. Tum ut quisque praecipuus turbator conquisiti, et
pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum
cohortium militibus caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documen-
tum fidei tradidere. auxerat militum curas praematura hiems 2
imbribus continuis adeoque saevis, ut non egredi tentoria,
congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine
atque unda raptabantur. durabat et formido caelestis irae, 3
nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempe-
states: non aliud malorum levamentum quam si linquerent
castra infausta temerataque et soluti piaculo suis quisque
hibernis redderentur. primum octava, dein quinta decuma 4
legio rediere: nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epistulas clami-
taverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione inminentem ne-
cessitatem sponte praevenit. et Drusus non exspectato lega- 5
torum regressu, quia praesentia satis consederant, in urbem
rediit.

31. Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legio-
nes turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe
fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret
daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. duo apud 2
ripam Rheni exercitus erant: cui nomen superiori, sub C.
Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. regimen sum-
mae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum
intentum. sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua 3
fortunam seditionis alienae speculabantur: inferioris exercitus
miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unetvicensimanis quin-
tanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicensima legio-
nibus: nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur
per otium aut levia munia. igitur audito fine Augusti ver- 4
nacula multitudo nuper acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta,
laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse
tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora
stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent saevitiam-

5 que centurionum ulciscerentur. non unus haec, ut Pan-
nonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum
aures, alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa sedi-
tionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis
victoriis augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum ad-
scisci imperatores.

32. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium vaecordia
2 constantiam exemerat. repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in
centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis mate-
3 ries et saeviendi principium. prostratos verberibus mulcant,
sexagenis singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent:
tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum
4 aut in amnem Rhenum proiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset
ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagi-
5 tatus est, donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chaerea,
mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus,
tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos
6 ferro viam patefecit. non tribunus ultra, non castrorum
praefectus ius obtinuit: vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia prae-
7 sens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. id militares animos
altius coniectantibus praecipuum indicium magni atque inpla-
cabilis motus, quod neque disiecti aut paucorum instinctu,
set pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate et
constantia, ut regi crederes.

33. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census
2 accipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. neptem eius Agrip-
3 pinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse
Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae nepos, set anxius oc-
cultis in se patrui aviaeque odiis, quorum causae acriores,
4 quia iniquae. quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum
memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem
5 redditurus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. nam
iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii

sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. accedebant mu- 6
liebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam sti-
mulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod
castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in
bonum vertebat.

34. Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto
impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos et Belgarum
civitates in verba eius adigit. dehinc audito legionum tu- 2
multu raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis
in terram oculis velut paenitentia. postquam vallum iniit,
dissoni questus audiri coepere. et quidam prensa manu eius 3
per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua denti-
bus ora contingeret; alii curvata senio membra ostendebant.
adsistentem contionem, quia permixta videbatur, discedere 4
in manipulos iubet: sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla
praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtempe-
ravere. tunc a veneratione Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias 5
triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae
apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset.
Italiae inde consensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam 6
turbidum aut discors. silentio haec vel murmure modico
audita sunt.

35. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi ve-
teris disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones
exegissent, rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex
vulneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vo-
cibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam ope-
rum ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli
materiae lignorum adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut
adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur. atrocissimus vetera- 2
norum clamor oriebatur, qui tricena aut supra stipendia nu-
merantes, mederetur fessis, neu mortem in isdem laboribus,
sed finem tam exercitae militiae neque inopem requiem ora-

3 bant. fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam
reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et si vellet
4 imperium, promptas *res* ostentavere. tum vero, quasi sce-
5 lere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. opposuerunt
abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur; at ille moriturum
potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit
elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram
6 vi adtinuissent. extrema et conglobata inter se pars con-
tionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius in-
cedentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius
7 strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse. saevum id
malique moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo
Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

36. Consultatum ibi de remedio; etenim nuntiabatur pa-
rari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem
traherent: destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutasque
2 praeda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. augebat
metum gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa,
invasurus hostis: at si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentis
3 legiones armarentur, civile bellum suscipi. periculosa seve-
ritas, flagitiosa largitio: seu nihil militi sive omnia con-
4 cederentur, in ancipiti res publica. igitur volutatis inter se
rationibus placitum ut epistulae nomine principis scribe-
rentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis, exauctorari
qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo ceterorum
inmunes nisi propulsandi hostis, legata quae petiverant ex-
solvi duplicarique.

37. Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque flagitavit.
missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio differebatur in hiberna
2 cuiusque. non abscessere quintani unetvicensimanique, do-
nec isdem in aestivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsius-
3 que Caesaris pecunia persolveretur. primam ac vicensimam
legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi

agmine, cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque
aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum 4
profectus secundam et tertiam decumam et sextam decumam
legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento adigit. quartadecumani 5
paulum dubitaverant: pecunia et missio quamvis non flagi-
tantibus oblata est.

38. At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agi-
tantes vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum
militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. iusserat id M'. En- 2
nius castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam con-
cesso iure. deinde intumescente motu profugus repertusque, 3
postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur:
non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Ti-
berium imperatorem violari. simul exterritis qui obstiterant, 4
raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et si quis agmine deces-
sisset, pro desertore fore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna tur-
bidos et nihil ausos.

39. Interea legati ab senatu regressum iam apud aram
Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. duae ibi legiones, prima 2
atque vicensima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo hiema-
bant. pavidos et conscientia vaecordes intrat metus, venisse 3
patrum iussu qui inrita facerent quae per seditionem ex-
presserant. utque mos vulgo quamvis falsis reum subdere, 4
Munatium Plancum consulatu functum, principem legationis,
auctorem senatus consulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexil-
lum in domo Germanici situm flagitare occipiunt, concur-
suque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum cubili
Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subigunt.
mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita consterna- 5
tione ad Germanicum tendentes. ingerunt contumelias, 6
caedem parant, Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga impe-
diverat; neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra pri-
mae legionis. illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese 7

tutabatur, ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset,
rarum etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis
8 in castris sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. luce
demum, postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, in-
gressus castra Germanicus perduci ad se Plancum imperat
9 recepitque in tribunal. tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque
militum sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit;
ius legationis atque ipsius Planci gravem et inmeritum ca-
sum, simul quantum dedecoris adierit legio, facunde misera-
tur, attonitaque magis quam quieta contione legatos praesidio
auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

40. Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non
ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra
rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et mol-
2 libus consultis peccatum. vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium
parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentes et omnis
humani iuris violatores haberet? illos saltem avo et rei
3 publicae redderet. diu cunctatus aspernantem uxorem, cum
se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula tes-
taretur, postremo uterum eius et communem filium multo
4 cum fletu complexus, ut abiret perpulit. incedebat mulie-
bre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu
filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae
simul trahebantur, nec minus tristes qui manebant.

41. Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, set velut
in urbe victa facies; gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum
2 aures oraque advertere: progrediuntur contuberniis. quis
ille flebilis sonus? quod tam triste? feminas inlustres, non
centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae
uxoris aut comitatus soliti: pergere ad Treveros [et] ex-
3 ternae fidei. pudor inde et miseratio et patris Agrippae,
Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, ipsa insigni fecunditate,
praeclara pudicitia; iam infans in castris genitus in contu-

bernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam
appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo
tegmine pedum induebatur. sed nihil aeque flexit quam 4
invidia in Treveros: orant obsistunt, rediret maneret, pars
Agrippinae occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi.
isque ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita 5
coepit.

42. 'Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cario-
res sunt, sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Roma-
num ceteri exercitus defendent. coniugem et liberos meos, 2
quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, nunc pro-
cul a furentibus summoveo, ut, quidquid istud sceleris im-
minet, meo tantum sanguine pietur, neve occisus Augusti
pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus nocentiores vos faciant.
quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumve vobis? 3
quod nomen huic coetui dabo? militesne appellem, qui 4
filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis? an
cives, quibus tam proiecta senatus auctoritas? hostium
quoque ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis. di- 5
vus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, Qui-
rites vocando qui sacramentum eius detrectabant: divus
Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos
ut nondum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispaniae Suriaeve
miles aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. pri- 6
mane et vicensima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis,
tu tot proeliorum socia, tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci
vestro gratiam refertis? hunc ego nuntium patri, laeta 7
omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? ipsius tirones,
ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos; hic
tantum interfici centuriones, eici tribunos, includi legatos,
infecta sanguine castra flumina, meque precariam animam
inter infensos trahere.

43. 'Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud, quod pec-

tori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o inprovidi amici?
2 melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat. cecidissem
certe nondum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legis-
setis ducem, qui meam quidem mortem inpunitam sineret,
3 Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur. neque enim di
sinant ut Belgarum quamquam offerentium decus istud et
claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse Ger-
4 maniae populos. tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens,
tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem istis cum mili-
tibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam
5 irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant. vos quoque, quo-
rum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui,
obsequium imperatori, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis,
discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile ad paeni-
tentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.'

44. Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant
puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis et duceret in hostem:
revocaretur coniunx, rediret legionum alumnus neve opses
2 Gallis traderetur. reditum Agrippinae excusavit ob inminen-
tem partum et hiemem; venturum filium: cetera ipsi exse-
3 querentur. discurrunt mutati et seditiosissimum quemque
vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium,
qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit.
4 stabant pro contione legiones destrictis gladiis; reus in sug-
gestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si nocentem adclamave-
5 rant, praeceps datus trucidabatur. et gaudebat caedibus mi-
les, tamquam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando
nullo ipsius iussu penes eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat.
6 secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittun-
tur, specie defendendae provinciae ob imminentis Suebos,
ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus
7 asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. centurionatum
inde egit. citatus ab imperatore nomen, ordinem, patriam,

numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in praeliis fecisset, et
cui erant dona militaria, edebat. si tribuni, si legio indu- 8
striam innocentiamque adprobaverant, retinebat ordinem:
ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, sol-
vebatur militia.

45. Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles super-
erat ob ferociam quintae et unetvicensimae legionum, sexa-
gensimum apud lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est) hibernan-
tium. nam primi seditionem coeptaverant: atrocissimum 2
quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena com-
militonum exterriti nec paenitentia conversi iras retinebant.
igitur Caesar arma classem socios demittere Rheno parat, 3
si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

46. At Romae nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illy-
rico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas
incusare Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et
inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles
neque duorum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate com-
primi queat. ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam 2
debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longa experientia eundem-
que severitatis et munificentiae summum vidissent. an Au- 3
gustum fessa aetate totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse:
Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in senatu, verba patrum ca-
villantem? satis prospectum urbanae servituti: militaribus 4
animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint.

47. Inmotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio
fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque publicam in
casum dare. multa quippe et diversa angebant: validior per 2
Germaniam exercitus, propior apud Pannoniam; ille Gallia-
rum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae inminens: quos igitur ante-
ferret? ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. at per 3
filios pariter adiri maiestate salva, cui maior e longinquo re-
verentia. simul adulescentibus excusatum quaedam ad pa- 4

trem reicere, resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se
mitigari vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem
5 sprevissent? ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites,
conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut
negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutis-
sime provincias fefellit.

48. At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu et pa-
rata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si
recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit litteras ad
Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, ni supplicium in malos
2 praesumant, usurum promisca caede. eas Caecina aquili-
feris signiferisque et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat
occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti exi-
mant hortatur: nam in pace causas et merita spectari; ubi
3 bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios iuxta cadere. illi temp-
tatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem legionum
partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus,
quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum ferro in-
4 vadant. tunc signo inter se dato inrumpunt contubernia,
trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi consciis noscente quod caedis
initium, quis finis.

49. Diversa omnium, quae umquam accidere, civilium
2 armorum facies. non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed is-
dem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox
habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. clamor vulnera
3 sanguis palam, causa in occulto; cetera fors regit. et qui-
dam bonorum caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur,
pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. neque legatus aut tribunus
moderator adfuit: permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et sa-
4 tietas. mox ingressus castra Germanicus, non medicinam
illud plurimis cum lacrimis sed cladem appellans, cremari
corpora iubet.

5 Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem,

piaculum furoris; nec aliter posse placari commilitonum ma-
nes, quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent.
sequitur ardorem militum Caesar iunctoque ponte tramittit 6
duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohor-
tis, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata mo-
destia fuit.

50. Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio
ob amissum Augustum, post discordiis attinemur. at Roma- 2
nus agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio
coeptum scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum
vallo, latera concaedibus munitus. inde saltus obscuros per- 3
meat consultatque ex duobus itineribus breve et solitum
sequatur an inpeditius et intemptatum eoque hostibus incau-
tum. delecta longiore via cetera adcelerantur: etenim 4
attulerant exploratores festam eam Germanis noctem ac sol-
lemnibus epulis ludicram. Caecina cum expeditis cohortibus 5
praeire et obstantia silvarum amoliri iubetur: legiones mo-
dico intervallo sequuntur. iuvit nox sideribus inlustris, ven- 6
tumque ad vicos Marsorum et circumdatae stationes stratis
etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo metu, non
antepositis vigiliis: adeo cuncta incuria disiecta erant neque 7
belli timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta inter
temulentos.

51. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret,
quattuor in cuneos dispertit; quinquaginta milium spatium
ferro flammisque pervastat. non sexus, non aetas miseratio- 2
nem attulit: profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gen-
tibus templum quod Tamfanae vocabant solo aequantur. sine 3
vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermos aut palantis cecide-
rant. excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes; sal- 4
tusque per quos exercitui regressus insedere. quod gnarum
duci, incessitque itineri et proelio. pars equitum et auxiliariae 5
cohortes ducebant, mox prima legio, et mediis impedimentis

sinistrum latus unetvicensimani, dextrum quintani clausere,
6 vicensima legio terga firmavit, post ceteri sociorum. sed
hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur, immoti, dein
latera et frontem modice adsultantes, tota vi novissimos in-
7 currere. turbabanturque densis Germanorum catervis leves
cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicensimanos voce magna
hoc illud tempus oblitterandae seditionis clamitabat: perge-
8 rent, properarent culpam in decus vertere. exarsere animis
unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta caedunt-
que: simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas castraque
9 communivere. quietum inde iter, fidensque recentibus ac
priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

52. Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaque adfecere: gau-
debat oppressam seditionem, sed quod largiendis pecuniis et
missione festinata favorem militum quaesivisset, bellica quo-
2 que Germanici gloria angebatur. rettulit tamen ad senatum
de rebus gestis multaque de virtute eius memoravit, magis
in speciem verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire credere-
3 tur. paucioribus Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed
intentior et fida oratione. cunctaque quae Germanicus in-
dulserat, servavit etiam apud Pannonicos exercitus.

53. Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impudi-
citiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido
2 Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa. fuerat in
matrimonio Tiberii florentibus Gaio et Lucio Caesaribus
spreveratque ut inparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa
3 cur Rhodum abscederet. imperium adeptus extorrem, infa-
mem et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei ege-
nam inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem lon-
4 ginquitate exilii ratus. par causa saevitiae in Sempronium
Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facun-
dus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio Marci Agrippae temera-
5 verat. nec is libidini finis: traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter

contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat, litteraeque, quas
Iulia patri Augusto cum insectatione Tiberii scripsit, a Grac-
cho compositae credebantur. igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi 6
maris insulam, quattuordecim annis exilium toleravit. tunc 7
milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti litoris, nihil
laetum opperientem. quorum adventu breve tempus petivit, 8
ut suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per litteras daret, cer-
vicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud in-
dignus Sempronio nomine: vita degeneraverat. quidam non 9
Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro consule Africae
missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in
Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.

54. Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito soda-
lium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatius reti-
nendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. sorte 2
ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drusus-
que et Claudius et Germanicus adiciuntur. ludos Augustales 3
tunc primum coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrio-
num. indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtem-
perat effuso in amorem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat
talibus studiis, et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi.
alia Tiberio morum via: sed populum per tot annos molliter 4
habitum nondum audebat ad duriora vertere.

55. Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur
Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in
aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in
Chattos excursu praecepit. nam spes incesserat dissidere 2
hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque per-
fidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniae, Segestes 3
parari rebellionem saepe alias et supremo convivio, post
quod in arma itum, aperuit suasitque Varo ut se et Arminium
et ceteros proceres vinciret: nihil ausuram plebem principi-
bus amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina et innoxios

4 discerneret. sed Varus fato et vi Armini cecidit: Segestes
quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus discors mane-
bat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam eius alii
5 pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici soceri; quaeque apud
concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos
erant.

56. Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxi-
liarium milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhe-
num colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem
sociorum numerum ipse ducit, positoque castello super ve-
stigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno expeditum exercitum
in Chattos rapit, L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum et flumi-
2 num relicto. nam (rarum illi caelo) siccitate et amnibus
modicis inoffensum iter properaverat, imbresque et fluminum
3 auctus regredienti metuebantur. sed Chattis adeo inprovisus
advenit, ut quod imbecillum aetate ac sexu statim captum
4 aut trucidatum sit. iuventus flumen Adranam nando tramise-
5 rat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arcebant. dein tormentis
sagittisque pulsi, temptatis frustra condicionibus pacis, cum
quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent, reliqui omissis pagis
6 vicisque in silvas disperguntur. Caesar incenso Mattio (id
genti caput) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso
hoste terga abeuntium lacessere, quod illi moris, quotiens
7 astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. fuerat animus Che-
ruscis iuvare Chattos, sed exterruit Caecina huc illuc ferens
arma; et Marsos congredi ausos prospero proelio cohibuit.

57. Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt auxi-
lium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis circumsede-
batur, validiore apud eos Arminio, quoniam bellum suadebat:
nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis
2 fidus rebusque motis potior habetur. addiderat Segestes
legatis filium, nomine Segimundum: sed iuvenis conscientia
cunctabatur. quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacer-

dos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus
ad rebelles. adductus tamen in spem clementiae Romanae 3
pertulit patris mandata benigneque exceptus cum praesidio
Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico pretium fuit con- 4
vertere agmen, pugnatumque in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes
magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu. inerant femi- 5
nae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis,
mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque evicta in lacrimas
neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravi-
dum uterum intuens. ferebantur et spolia Varianae cladis, 6
plerisque eorum qui tum in deditionem veniebant praedae
data: simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bonae
societatis inpavidus.

58. Verba eius in hunc modum fuere: 'non hic mihi
primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies. ex 2
quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque
ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriae (quippe pro-
ditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt), verum quia
Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem quam bel-
lum probabam. ergo raptorem filiae meae, violatorem 3
foederis vestri, Arminium apud Varum, qui tum exercitui
praesidebat, reum feci. dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum 4
praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios
vinciret flagitavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima!
quae secuta sunt, defleri magis quam defendi possunt: cete- 5
rum et inieci catenas Arminio et a factione eius iniectas per-
pessus sum. atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis et 6
quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob praemium, sed ut me
perfidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus concili-
ator, si paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. pro iuventa 7
et errore filii veniam precor: filiam necessitate huc adductam
fateor. tuum erit consultare, utrum praevaleat, quod ex
Arminio concepit an quod ex me genita est.' Caesar clementi 8

responso liberis propinquisque eius incolumitatem, ipsi sedem
9 vetere in provincia pollicetur. exercitum reduxit nomenque
imperatoris auctore Tiberio accepit. Arminii uxor virilis
sexus stirpem edidit: educatus Ravennae puer quo mox
ludibrio conflictatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

59. Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata,
ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel do-
2 lore accipitur. Arminium super insitam violentiam rapta uxor,
subiectus servitio uxoris uterus vaecordem agebant, volitabat-
que per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem
3 poscens. neque probris temperabat: egregium patrem, mag-
num imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus
4 unam mulierculam avexerint. sibi tres legiones, totidem le-
gatos procubuisse; non enim se proditione neque adversus
feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum trac-
5 tare. cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae
6 dis patriis suspenderit. coleret Segestes victam ripam, red-
deret filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam satis
excusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures
7 et togam viderint. aliis gentibus ignorantia imperi Romani
inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa; quae quoniam exu-
erint inritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus,
ille delectus Tiberius, ne inperitum adulescentulum, ne seditio-
8 sum exercitum pavescerent. si patriam parentes antiqua
mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius
gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis
ducem sequerentur.

60. Conciti per haec non modo Cherusci sed conterminae
gentes, tractusque in partis Inguiomerus Arminii patruus,
vetere apud Romanos auctoritate; unde maior Caesari metus.
2 et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Caecinam cum quadraginta
cohortibus Romanis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flu-
men Amisiam mittit, equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisio-

rum ducit. ipse inpositas navibus quattuor legiones per 3
lacus vexit; simulque pedes eques classis apud praedictum
amnem convenere. Chauci cum auxilia pollicerentur, in com-
militium adsciti sunt. Bructeros sua urentis expedita cum 4
manu L. Stertinius missu Germanici fudit; interque caedem et
praedam repperit undevicensimae legionis aquilam cum Varo
amissam. ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum, 5
quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter vastatum, haud
procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque
insepultae dicebantur.

61. Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema
militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat
exercitu ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum
et sortem hominum. praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum 2
scrutaretur pontesque et aggeres umido paludum et fallaci-
bus campis inponeret, incedunt maestos locos visuque ac
memoria deformis. prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimen- 3
sis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semi-
ruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedisse
intellegebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut
restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. adiacebant fragmina telorum 4
equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. lucis 5
propinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum
ordinum centuriones mactaverant. et cladis eius superstites, 6
pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos,
illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi
infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali
contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes,
utque signis et aquilis per superbiam inluserit.

62. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post
cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas
reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut coniunctos, ut
consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, maesti simul et infensi

2 condebant. primum extruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar
posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus do-
3 loris socius. quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Ger-
manici in deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum
insepultorumque tardatum ad proelia et formidolosiorem
hostium credebat; neque imperatorem auguratu et vetustis-
simis caerimoniis praeditum adtrectare feralia debuisse.

63. Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus,
ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem
2 hostis insederat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi suos et pro-
pinquare silvis monitos vertit repente: mox signum prorum-
3 pendi dedit iis quos per saltus occultaverat. tunc nova acie
turbatus eques, missaeque subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium
agmine impulsae auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque
in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar
4 productas legiones instruxisset: inde hostibus terror, fiducia
5 militi; et manibus aequis abscessum. mox reducto ad Ami-
siam exercitu legiones classe, ut advexerat, reportat; pars
equitum litore Oceani petere Rhenum iussa; Caecina, qui
suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus
6 regrederetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare. an-
gustus is trames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Do-
mitio aggeratus; cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis
incerta erant; circum silvae paulatim adclives, quas tum
Arminius inplevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onus-
7 tum sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae
dubitanti, quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret
simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit,
ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.

64. Barbari perfringere stationes seque inferre munitori-
bus nisi lacessunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant: miscetur
2 operantium bellantiumque clamor. et cuncta pariter Ro-
manis adversa, locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum

instabilis, procedentibus lubricus, corpora gravia loricis; ne-
que librare pila inter undas poterant. contra Cheruscis sueta 3
apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae ingentes ad
vulnera facienda quamvis procul. nox demum inclinantis 4
iam legiones adversae pugnae exemit. Germani ob prospera 5
indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum
circum surgentibus iugis oritur vertere in subiecta, mersaque
humo et obruto quod effectum operis duplicatus militi labor.
quadragensimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperi- 6
tandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens eo-
que interritus. igitur futura volvens non aliud repperit quam 7
ut hostem silvis coërceret, donec saucii quantumque gravioris
agminis anteirent; nam medio montium et paludum porrige-
batur planities, quae tenuem aciem pateretur. deliguntur le- 8
giones quinta dextro lateri, unetvicensima in laevum, primani
ducendum ad agmen, vicensimanus adversum secuturos.

65. Nox per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis,
laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis
saltus complerent, apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae
voces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent ten-
toriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles. ducemque terruit 2
dira quies: nam Quintilium Varum sanguine oblitum et pa-
ludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem,
non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse.
coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, 3
locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia ultra. ne- 4
que tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu statim pro-
rupit: sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati
circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore
sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, in-
rumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans 'en Varus eodemque
iterum fato vinctae legiones!' simul haec et cum delectis 5
scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. illi san- 6

guine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus
7 disicere obvios, proterere iacentes. plurimus circa aquilas
labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela neque figi
8 limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum sustentat aciem,
suffosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese
9 opposuisset. iuvit hostium aviditas, omissa caede praedam
sectantium; enisaeque legiones vesperascente die in aperta
10 et solida. neque is miseriarum finis. struendum vallum,
petendus agger, amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur
humus aut exciditur caespes; non tentoria manipulis, non
fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes
funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum iam reli-
quum diem lamentabantur.

66. Forte equus abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore ter-
2 ritus quosdam occurrentium obturbavit. tanta inde conster-
natio inrupisse Germanos credentium, ut cuncti ruerent ad
portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur, aversa hosti et
3 fugientibus tutior. Caecina comperto vanam esse formidi-
nem, cum tamen neque auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu
quidem obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, proiectus in
limine portae miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati
eundum erat, clausit viam: simul tribuni et centuriones
falsum pavorem esse docuerunt.

67. Tunc contractos in principia iussosque dicta cum
silentio accipere temporis ac necessitatis monet. unam in
armis salutem, sed ea consilio temperanda manendumque
intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succe-
derent; mox undique erumpendum: illa eruptione ad Rhe-
2 num perveniri. quod si fugerent, pluris silvas, profundas
magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at victoribus
3 decus gloriam. quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta,
4 memorat; reticuit de adversis. equos dehinc, orsus a suis,

legatorum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique
bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent.

68. Haud minus inquies Germanus spe, cupidine et di-
versis ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinerent egredi
egressosque rursum per umida et inpedita circumvenirent
suadente, atrociora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris, ut vallum
armis ambirent: promptam expugnationem, plures captivos,
incorruptam praedam fore. igitur orta die proruunt fossas, 2
iniciunt crates, summa valli prensant, raro super milite et
quasi ob metum defixo. postquam haesere munimentis, 3
datur cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae concinuere.
exim clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum circumfun- 4
duntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas nec paludes, sed aequis
locis aequos deos. hosti facile excidium et paucos ac se- 5
mermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto
inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur, cadebantque, ut rebus
secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, In- 6
guiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere: vulgus
trucidatum est, donec ira et dies permansit. nocte demum 7
reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum
egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias, cuncta in victoria
habuere.

69. Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama et in-
festo Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac ni Agrippina
inpositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id fla-
gitium formidine auderent. sed femina ingens animi munia 2
ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut
saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. tradit C. Plinius, 3
Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetisse apud principium
pontis, laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem. id 4
Tiberii animum altius penetravit: non enim simplices eas
curas, nec adversus externos *studia* militum quaeri. nihil 5
relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa

adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium
ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam ap-
6 pellari velit. potiorem iam apud exercitus Agrippinam quam
legatos, quam duces; conpressam a muliere seditionem, cui
7 nomen principis obsistere non quiverit. accendebat haec
onerabatque Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum
iaciens, quae reconderet auctaque promeret.

70. At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, se-
cundam et quartam decumam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio
ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel
2 reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut
modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit: mox inpulsu aqui-
lonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit Oceanus,
3 rapi agique agmen. et opplebantur terrae: eadem freto litori
campis facies, neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis,
4 brevia a profundis. sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgiti-
bus; iumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima interfluunt, occur-
sant. permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore modo
ore tenus exstantes, aliquando subtracto solo disiecti aut ob-
5 ruti. non vox et mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante unda;
nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab inprudenti, consilia a
6 casu differre: cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. tandem
Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. pernoc-
tavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mul-
cato corpore, haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis
circumsidet: quippe illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his in-
7 glorium exitium. lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad
8 amnem [Visurgin], quo Caesar classe contenderat. inpositae
dein legiones, vagante fama submersas; nec fides salutis,
antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.

71. Iam Stertinius, ad accipiendum in deditionem Segi-
merum fratrem Segestis praemissus, ipsum et filium eius in
2 civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat. data utrique venia, facile

Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia Quintilii Vari corpus inlu-
sisse dicebatur. ceterum ad supplenda exercitus damna cer- 3
tavere Galliae Hispaniae Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma
equos aurum offerentes. quorum laudato studio Germanicus, 4
armis modo et equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia
militem iuvit. utque cladis memoriam etiam comitate leni- 5
ret, circumire saucios, facta singulorum extollere; vulnera
intuens alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos adloquio et cura
sibique et proelio firmabat.

72. Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae,
L. Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico gestas. nomen 2
patris patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingestum, repudia-
vit; neque in acta sua iurari quamquam censente senatu
permisit, cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus
foret, tanto se magis in lubrico dictitans. non tamen ideo 3
faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat,
cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in iudicium venie-
bant, si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus,
denique male gesta re publica maiestatem populi Romani
minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta inpune erant. primus 4
Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius
tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros femi-
nasque inlustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Ti-
berius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore, an iudicia
maiestatis redderentur, exercendas leges esse respondit. hunc 5
quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevi-
tiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum.

73. Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis
equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initiis,
quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein re-
pressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur.
Falanio obiciebat accusator, quod inter cultores Augusti, qui 2
per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cas-

sium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset, quodque
venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio
3 crimini dabatur violatum periurio numen Augusti. quae ubi
Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus non ideo decretum patri
suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur.
4 Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios eiusdem artis inter-
esse ludis, quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset;
nec contra religiones fieri, quod effigies eius, ut alia numi-
num simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant.
5 ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem fefellisset:
deorum iniurias dis curae.

74. Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bi-
thyniae quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postu-
lavit, subscribente Romano Hispone: qui formam vitae iniit,
quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae homi-
2 num fecerunt. nam egens, ignotus, inquies, dum occultis
libellis saevitiae principis adrepit, mox clarissimo cuique
periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnis
adeptus dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites,
ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi
3 invenere. sed Marcellum insimulabat sinistros de Tiberio
sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus prin-
cipis foedissima quaeque deligeret accusator obiectaretque
4 reo. nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. addidit
Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum sitam, et alia
in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem Tiberii inditam.
5 ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se
quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum,
6 quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. manebant etiam tum
vestigia morientis libertatis. igitur Cn. Piso 'quo' inquit
'loco censebis, Caesar? si primus, habebo quod sequar: si
7 post omnis, vereor ne inprudens dissentiam.' permotus his,
quantoque incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens tulit ab-

solvi reum criminibus maiestatis: de pecuniis repetundis ad
reciperatores itum est.

75. Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus iudiciis adsidebat
in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret; multa-
que eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium preces con-
stituta. set dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpebatur. 2
inter quae Pius Aurelius senator questus mole publicae viae 3
ductuque aquarum labefactas aedis suas, auxilium patrum
invocabat. resistentibus aerarii praetoribus subvenit Caesar 4
pretiumque aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae per honesta
pecuniae cupiens, quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras
exueret. Propertio Celeri praetorio, veniam ordinis ob pau- 5
pertatem petenti, deciens sestertium largitus est, satis con-
perto paternas ei angustias esse. temptantis eadem alios 6
probare causas senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis etiam
quae rite faceret acerbus. unde ceteri silentium et pauper- 7
tatem confessioni et beneficio praeposuere.

76. Eodem anno continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis plana
urbis stagnaverat; relabentem secuta est aedificiorum et ho-
minum strages. igitur censuit Asinius Gallus ut libri Sibul- 2
lini adirentur. renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque 3
obtegens; sed remedium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni
et L. Arruntio mandatum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera 4
deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique
Caesari placuit. edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fra- 5
tris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, quamquam
vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod *in* vulgus formidolosum
et pater arguisse dicebatur. cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, 6
varie trahebant; alii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et
metu conparationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuisset. non 7
crediderim ad ostentandam saevitiam movendasque populi
offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam id quoque
dictum est.

77. At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno coepta, gra-
vius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe set militibus et
centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae cohortis, dum pro-
2 bra in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi prohibent. actum
de ea seditione apud patres dicebanturque sententiae, ut prae-
3 toribus ius virgarum in histriones esset. intercessit Haterius
Agrippa tribunus plebei increpitusque est Asinii Galli ora-
tione, silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui
4 praebebat. valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus
immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque
5 fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius. de modo lucaris et adver-
sus lasciviam fautorum multa decernuntur; ex quis maxime
insignia, ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret, ne egre-
dientes in publicum equites Romani cingerent aut alibi quam
in theatro sectarentur, et spectantium immodestiam exilio
multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.

78. Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Au-
gusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnes
2 provincias exemplum. centesimam rerum venalium post
bella civilia institutam deprecante populo edixit Tiberius mi-
litare aerarium eo subsidio niti; simul imparem oneri rem
publicam, nisi vicensimo militiae anno veterani dimitterentur.
3 ita proximae seditionis male consulta, quibus sedecim stipen-
diorum finem expresserant, abolita in posterum.

79. Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob
moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus,
per quos augescit; auditaeque municipiorum et coloniarum
legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clanis solito alveo de-
motus in amnem Arnum transferretur idque ipsis perniciem
2 adferret. congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: pessum
ituros fecundissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar (id enim
3 parabatur) in rivos diductus superstagnavisset. nec Reatini
silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obstrui

recusantes, quippe in adiacentia erupturum; optume rebus
mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos
cursus, utque originem, ita fines dederit; spectandas etiam
religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amni-
bus dicaverint: quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis 4
fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere. seu preces coloniarum 5
seu difficultas operum sive superstitio valuit, ut in sententiam
Cn. Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

80. Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, ad-
ditis Achaia ac Macedonia. id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, 2
continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in isdem
exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus habere. causae variae tradun- 3
tur: alii taedio novae curae semel placita pro aeternis ser-
vavisse, quidam invidia, ne plures fruerentur; sunt qui exi-
stiment, ut callidum eius ingenium, ita anxium iudicium; ne-
que enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur, et rursum vitia ode-
rat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum
metuebat. qua haesitatione postremo eo provectus est, ut 4
mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat
passurus.

81. De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo prin-
cipe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare ausim: adeo di-
versa non modo apud auctores sed in ipsius orationibus re-
periuntur. modo subtractis candidatorum nominibus originem 2
cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intel-
legeretur: aliquando ea quoque significatione subtracta can-
didatos hortatus, ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id cu-
ram pollicitus est. plerumque eos tantum apud se professos 3
disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset; posse et alios
profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa verbis,
re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine
tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

NOTES.

BOOK I.

P. 43, l. 1. c. 1. Urbem Romam, etc. Tacitus here marks out the chief periods of Roman History:—1. That of the kings. 2. That of the Republic (in which no permanent change of constitution took place till the time of Augustus). 3. The principate. The enumeration is introductory to the reasons given by him for choosing that particular part of the third period which forms the subject of the Annals.

habuere, 'governed;' so used of provinces in 4. 5, 2, etc.

l. 2. **ad tempus,** 'for the occasion' (*πρὸς καιρόν*); so 'in tempus,' c. 37, 1, etc.

l. 3. **neque . . . ultra biennium,** etc. The decemvirate continued through the greater part of a third year; but Tacitus probably follows Livy and others in treating this part of its rule as a mere usurpation. Military tribunes with consular power were substituted for consuls during most of the years from B.C. 444–367, but are not a fixed institution, as consuls or dictators frequently intervene. The 'despotism' ('dominatio') of Cinna lasted during his four successive consulships, B.C. 87–84; that of Sulla during his dictatorship, B.C. 82–79. The coalition of 'influence' ('potentia') between Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus, often called the first triumvirate, is distinguished from the union of the leaders of three armies ('arma') which brought about the second, or true triumvirate.

l. 7. **cessere,** 'passed over to' (into the hands of). The verb is used with a similar accus. in 2. 23, 3; also in 6. 43, 1 ('omnes in unum cedebant').

nomine principis, etc. On this title, and on the 'imperium' connected with it, see Introd. p. 23.

l. 9. **claris scriptoribus.** On this dat., and on the gerundive dat. after 'defuere,' see Introd. pp. 10, 11, §§ 8, 11. Such an expression as 'dicere tempora,' though found in earlier prose, is mainly poetical.

l. 10. **donec . . . deterrerentur.** On the use of the subjunct. of facts with 'donec' (cp. c. 13, 7; 32, 4; 2. 6, 5, etc.), see Roby, 1670.

l. 12. **res,** used here not of actions themselves, but of the history of such actions, which, while they lived, was 'falsified' ('falsae').

l. 15. **cetera,** i.e. to the death of Nero, after which the Histories, which Tacitus had already published, began.

l. 15. **sine ira et studio.** Tacitus believes himself able to keep clear of all rancour or partiality, in speaking of princes with whom he had never come in contact for good or evil.

l. 17. c. 2. **publica arma**, 'army of the Republic.' It is implied that the forces of the triumviri and of Sex. Pompeius were mere 'privata arma.'

l. 18. **oppressus**, 'was crushed' (so used of decisive defeat in 3. 41, 3, etc.). The defeat of Sex. Pompeius by Agrippa took place in B.C. 36, and Lepidus was at the same time 'stripped of power,' Caesar having induced his whole army to desert him, after which he remained in seclusion at Circeii till his death in B.C. 14.

exuto: for the metaphorical uses of this verb, cp. c. 4, 1; 59, 7; 75, 4; 2. 72, 1; 3. 12, 4; 4. 72, 1, etc.

l. 19. **Iulianis**, 'Caesarian.' After the death of the dictator, the party of the triumvirs, as that of his friends, is still so designated; that of the senate or 'optimates' being similarly, even after its leader's death, still called 'Pompeian' (c. 10, 1).

l. 20. **posito triumviri nomine**, etc. The triumvirate lasted till the end of B.C. 33. From B.C. 31 to 23, Caesar held a continuous series of nine consulships (his third to his eleventh). The tribunician power (see Introd. p. 24), though not assumed as a title till B.C. 23, appears to have been held by him in some form from B.C. 36.

P. 44, l. 1. **annona**, i.e. 'largitionibus annonae,' by distributions of corn, gratuitously or at low price (cp. 2. 87, 1).

l. 2. **munia . . . legum**, 'the functions of law,' in other words, the function of virtual legislation through his edicts, rescripts, etc.

l. 3. **ferocissimi**, 'the boldest spirits;' used in a good sense, as is also 'ferocia' (c. 12, 6).

per acies. The accus. with 'per' has often in Tacitus the force of a simple abl. or abl. with 'ex' or 'in,' and is often interchanged with such; see c. 7, 10; 11, 7; 4. 55, 7, etc.

l. 4. **servitio**, dative, as in c. 48, 3; 4. 46, 4, etc.

l. 5. **opibus et honoribus**, abl.: cp. c. 3, 1; 'tollere honoribus,' Hor. Od. 1. 1, 8.

l. 6. **tuta**, etc. The stress is laid on the antithesis of 'tuta' and 'periculosa:' 'preferred the new institutions with their security, to the old with their perils.'

neque . . . abnuebant. There is much evidence that the provinces were better off under the new government. See Introd. p. 29.

l. 8. **certamina potentium.** Some civil conflicts, as those of Marius with Sulla, Pompeius with Caesar, had brought great distress on the provinces.

l. 9. **ambitu**, 'intrigue' or 'solicitation' (cp. c. 7, 10; 75, 1); often used for bribery, but here distinguished from it (cp. 2. 34, 1).

l. 11. c. 3. **subsidia dominationi**, accus. in apposition: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 a.

Marcellum, etc. For the relationships of all the persons mentioned in this chapter, and the dates of their deaths, see the genealogies (Introd. pp. 32–34). Marcellus is best known from the famous lines of Vergil (Aen. 6. 861, foll.). He held the curule aedileship, his first and only magistracy, in his twentieth year, which was also that of his death (B.C. 23).

l. 14. **geminatis**, 'piled one upon another,' i.e. 'consecutive;' referring to the second and third consulships of Agrippa, B.C. 28, 27. No subsequent instances of this are found except in the case of the princeps himself or his nearest relatives.

l. 16. **imperatoriis nominibus.** This title was similarly given by Tiberius to Germanicus (c. 58, 9), and was merely honorary, as when given by victorious soldiers to their general (see on c. 9, 2; 3. 74, 6).

l. 17. **integra**, 'furnished with heirs:' cp. 'plena domus,' 4. 3, 1.

l. 19. **appellari, destinari . . . cupiverat**, equivalent to 'appellati, destinati, . . . id quod cupiverat.' The title of 'princeps iuventutis,' apparently then first invented, was analogous to that of 'princeps senatus,' and denoted them as first in the 'centuriae equitum Romanorum.' It was held apparently by Germanicus (see on 2. 83, 5), and afterwards by Nero. Gaius was consul in his twentieth year (A.D. 1), but Lucius never lived to fill that office.

l. 22. **Armenia**: on this abl. see Introd. p. 11, § 13.

l. 24. **illuc cuncta vergere**, 'all set in that direction,' i.e. all influence centred in him: for other metaphorical uses of 'vergere,' cp. 2. 43, 1; 4. 41, 3.

l. 25. **filius**, etc. He was adopted by Augustus after the death of Gaius (A.D. 4), and afterwards associated with him in the command of the armies and provinces, or 'proconsulare imperium' (Introd. p. 23). He was a sharer in the tribunician power for more than fifteen years during the life of Augustus (see on c. 10, 7; 3. 56, 3).

l. 29. **Planasiam**, Pianosa, near Elba.

sane, concessive, as c. 10, 2, etc. The words 'robore . . . ferocem' are a close reminiscence of Livy (see Introd. p. 22, § 58, 2); 'ferox,' in both places, meaning 'confident.' 'Conpertus,' in the sense of 'found guilty,' takes a genit. of the crime.

l. 31. **hercule** points the contrast (cp. c. 17, 7; 26, 3, etc.) between the failure of Livia in this case and her success in the other.

P. 45, l. 1. **filius**, Drusus Caesar, probably some two years younger than Germanicus. With 'sed,' such a verb as 'fecit' is supplied (see Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 2. **abolendae infamiae.** On the gerundive genit. see Introd.

p. 14, § 23. The defeat of Varus in A.D. 9 is often alluded to in this Book (see esp. c. 61).

l. 5. **vocabula,** 'titles.' All the old magistracies, except the censorship, continued to exist, but it is implied that they were mere names.

l. 8. **rempublicam,** used emphatically, as in 4. 19, 3, of a constitution that could truly be called republican. 'Vidisset' is apparently a potential subjunct.

l. 10. c. 4. **aequalitate.** The use of this word for political equality (ἰσοτιμία) appears to be peculiar to Tacitus: cp. 3. 26, 3; 74, 6.

l. 13. **aegro et corpore.** 'Et' has here the force of 'etiam.'

l. 14. **in cassum,** 'idly,' as mere declamation.

l. 16. **dominos . . . differebant** = 'rumores differebant de dominis;' unless, perhaps, 'differre' has the force of 'to pull to pieces,' as in Verg. Aen. 8. 643, etc.

l. 17. **experientia.** The use of this word in the sense of 'knowledge gained by practice' is almost wholly Vergilian (G. 1. 4, etc.) and Tacitean (c. 46, 2, etc.).

l. 18. **moli parem**: so 'par negotiis,' 3. 30, 5, etc., and 'moles,' of the weight of empire, c. 11, 2.

maturum annis, etc. Tiberius was then fifty-six, and had held important military commands during many years, especially in the suppression of the great Illyrian revolt, A.D. 6–9, and in Germany before and after the defeat of Varus.

l. 21. **regnatrice,** ἅπ. εἰρ., but one of a common class of new words in Tacitus (Introd. p. 18, § 43): here used invidiously of the 'domus principis.' Tiberius, on his father's death, passed, at nine years old, under the tutelage of his stepfather (B.C. 33). He was consul at the age of twenty-nine, and again at that of thirty-five, and received triumphal honours on three occasions.

l. 22. **ne iis quidem annis, etc.** He had lived in retirement at Rhodes from B.C. 6 to A.D. 2, partly owing to the conduct of his wife (see c. 53, 2), partly to avoid rivalry with Gaius and Lucius. 'Agere' has often the force of 'degere,' as in 2. 42, 2; 3. 48, 2, etc.

l. 25. **inpotentia,** 'imperiousness' (abl. of quality). From denoting absence of self-control, the word acquires here the sense of violent assertion of self-will. It is used again of Livia in 4. 57, 4: cp. 'inpotens,' 3. 33, 4, etc.

duobus, Germanicus and Drusus.

l. 26. **qui rempublicam, etc.** They would be an encumbrance, by monopolising the chief positions in the state, for the present, and distract it, by disputing the succession, in the future. 'Quandoque' has the sense of 'at some time' in 4. 28, 3.

l. 28. c. 5. **agitantibus,** best taken as a concise abl. abs.: see Introd.

p. 12, § 19 b. Tacitus very often uses the verb in the sense of 'agitare animo,' e.g. c. 12, 6; 18, 2, etc.

gravescere valetudo, 'his sickness becomes more burdensome.' This verb is elsewhere almost wholly poetical.

l. 29. **scelus uxoris.** An absurd story is told that she poisoned some of the figs on a tree, and induced him to pluck and eat them, while she ate others from the same tree which were harmless. 'Suspectare' has this sense in no earlier author (cp. 4. 3, 5).

quippe, suggesting a motive for the alleged crime.

l. 30. **incesserat**, 'had spread:' so used of reports in 2. 55, 5, etc.

consciis . . . comite. Those to whom he communicated his plan are distinct from the one who actually accompanied him.

l. 32. **multas . . . lacrimas**, sc. 'fuisse:' see Introd. p. 14, § 25. The same tense is repeated below with 'gnarum id.'

P. 46, l. 1. **gnarum** = 'notum.' The passive use of this word is common in Tacitus (e.g. c. 51, 4; 63, 3, etc.), and may be called peculiar to him. On the less rare similar use of 'ignarus,' see 2. 13, 1, etc.

l. 2. **dubium**, etc. On such parentheses, see Introd. p. 20, § 51.

l. 3. **quaesita**, 'unnatural.' The word is similarly used of what is studied or far-fetched, as in 2. 53, 4; 3. 57, 1, etc. It is implied that Marcia at least believed that her husband had committed suicide by the order of Augustus.

l. 4. **utcumque**, etc. Tacitus dismisses the charge of poisoning and the tale supporting it without expressing an opinion on either. It is most improbable that Augustus could have taken such a voyage without the knowledge of his wife.

l. 7. **apud.** The use of this prep., where a simple locative or 'in' with the abl. would be usual, is common in the Annals (e.g. c. 61, 5; 64, 3; 3. 71, 2; 4. 64, 4, etc.), and comparatively rare in earlier Latin.

l. 8. **acribus**, 'vigilant:' often used to express diligent performance, as in 2. 43, 3; 3. 48, 2, etc.

l. 13. c. 6. **quamvis firmatus animo**, 'notwithstanding his fixed resolve.' The struggle illustrates Agrippa's personal strength, noted in c. 3, 4.

l. 15. **praescripsisset.** The subjunct. is used because this is only the representation of Tiberius.

l. 16. **custodiae adposito**, 'set over the guard,' or 'set over him for a guard.' The similar expression in 2. 68, 3, is in favour of the former explanation; the latter derives some support from 4. 60, 1.

l. 17. **quandoque**, not here used as in c. 4, 5; but for 'quandocumque,' as in 4. 38, 3, etc.; Hor. Od. 4. 2, 34, etc.

l. 20. **duravit**, 'hardened himself.' In 3. 15, 4 we appear to have the full expression 'durat mentem:' cp. 'cor dura,' Plaut. Pseud. 1. 3, 6.

l. 26. **Sallustius Crispus** is employed again on secret service, 2. 40, 3. For a general account of him and of his character and services, see 3. 30. 'Particeps secretorum' seems to have a wider reference than this affair, and to denote his general intimacy, 'secreta' being constantly used for 'privacy,' as in 3. 8, 4; 4. 3, 5; 7, 4, etc.

l. 27. **codicillos**, often used of missives from the prince, as well as of petitions addressed to him (3. 16, 4; 67, 4, etc.).

l. 28. **ne reus subderetur**, 'lest he should be set up (cp. c. 39, 4; 3. 67, 3; 4. 59, 5) as culprit' (made to bear the blame).

iuxta periculoso, 'as it was equally perilous.' On this use of the abl. abs. see Introd. p. 12, § 19 a. This sense of 'iuxta' is adopted from Sallust and Livy.

l. 31. **eam condicionem**, etc., 'it is of the essence of ruling, that accounts will not come right if audited by any one but the ruler.' The meaning is that the servants of a prince must be answerable to him alone, and he to no one; that much must be done by or for him that will not bear investigation.

P. 47, l. 1. c. 7. **eques**, used of the equestrian order, in 4. 74, 5, etc. The change here from plural to singular is merely for variety (see Introd. p. 21, § 54).

l. 2. **vultuque composito**, 'with a studied expression:' this verb is often used in this sense of word or look, as in 2. 34, 6; 3. 44, 4, etc.

l. 3. **ne laeti**, sc. 'essent.' Such an omission is usually only found when another subjunct. follows (see Introd. p. 14, § 25).

l. 4. **lacrimas gaudium**, etc. On the use of asyndeton in Tacitus, see Introd. p. 17, § 65. Here it points the antithesis, as in 'ex silentio, ex voce' (4. 60, 3); and in the common expression 'huc illuc' (c. 56, 7, etc.).

l. 5. **in verba . . . iuravere.** In recognition of the 'imperium proconsulare' of the princeps, the whole people, and even the provinces (c. 34, 1), bound themselves to him by a 'sacramentum' (cp. c. 8, 5) similar to that taken of old only by soldiers to their general.

l. 6. **Seius Strabo**, the father of Seianus: see c. 24, 3; 4. 1, 3.

l. 9. **vetere republica**, sc. 'existente.'

l. 10. **ambiguus imperandi**, 'as if he had not made up his mind to rule.' On this genit. see Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

l. 11. **praescriptione**, 'under the title of.' On his tribunician power, see c. 3, 3. 'Ponere' is only here and in 4. 27, 1 used for 'proponere,' but the use of other simple verbs for compounds is very common (see Introd. p. 14, § 26).

l. 14. **neque abscedere**, etc. Tiberius escorted the body from Nola (whence this edict was dated).

idque unum, best referred to this summoning of the senate.

l. 16. **excubiae**, etc., sc. 'erant.' 'He had a guard at his house, an

armed escort, the other accompaniments of a court' (i.e. a train of courtiers, etc.).

l. 19. **loqueretur,** subjunct. of cases often occurring: see Introd. p. 16, § 34.

l. 22. **dabat et famae,** 'it was his concession to public opinion' Horace has 'das aliquid famae' (Sat. 2. 2, 94); and here the object of the verb is supplied by the clause 'ut . . . videretur.'

vocatus electusque. It should be remembered that the formal choice of a princeps by the senate was at this time so far a reality that there was no precedent of hereditary succession.

l. 23. **per uxorium ambitum,** etc., i.e. 'through the adoption of a dotard, procured by the intrigue of a woman' (see the statement in 4. 57, 4).

l. 26. **inductam,** 'was put on' (as a mask): so 'inducere plumas,' Hor. A. P. 2.

l. 27. **recondebat,** 'he would store in memory.' This trait in Tiberius is alluded to in c. 69, 7; 4. 21, 2, etc.

l. 28. **c. 8. Nihil . . . passus est,** i.e. he imposed his tribunician veto on all else. That he was present is shown in § 5, 6.

supremis, 'obsequies' (cp. 4. 44, 6): oftener used of death, as in 3. 49, 1, etc.

l. 31. **Augustum,** adj., as in 'mensis Augustus,' etc.: so 'nomen Sempronium' (c. 53, 8), 'Furium' (2. 52, 7), etc. Henceforth Tacitus calls her 'Augusta,' or in full 'Iulia Augusta' (as in 5. 1, 1).

in spem secundam, sc. 'scripserat,' or perhaps 'adsumebantur:' 'spes secunda' is an elegance of expression for 'heredes secundi,' 'heirs in default,' should Tiberius and Livia have died before him. The 'nepotes' are Germanicus and Drusus, the 'pronepotes' the three sons of the former.

l. 33. **sed iactantia,** etc. This was set down to ostentation, as the existence of so many heirs before them made their position an empty compliment. The construction is similar to that of 'sed quo,' etc. (c. 3, 5), and the ablatives are causal.

P. 48, l. 1. **civilem,** that of an ordinary citizen: so 'civilia,' c. 12, 6; 'civile ingenium,' c. 33, 5, etc.

populo et plebi. It would appear from Suetonius that 40 million H.S. was left 'populo' (generally taken to mean the public treasury), and $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions to the tribes, i.e. 100,000 H.S. for distribution among the poorer members of each tribe. There is, however, some reason to think that the whole sum must have been thus distributed.

l. 3. **urbanis quingenos.** From a statement to this effect in Suetonius, it is thought that these words must have been omitted in the MS. of Tacitus. On the praetorian and urban cohorts, see 4. 5, 5.

l. 4. **cohortibus civium Romanorum.** Such bodies are recorded in inscriptions, but not mentioned by Tacitus in his summary of the forces of the empire (4. 5). They would belong to no legion, but would have otherwise the legionary status. The force of 'aut' is equivalent to that of 'et vicissim.'

l. 5. **ex quis,** etc. By the insertion of 'qui' the sentence is made to run as if it had been written 'ex quibus eos, qui maxime insignes visi, Gallus Asinius et L. Arruntius censuere;' but a complication is introduced by the attempt to express also in the same sentence the substance of each decree. 'Visi' refers to the opinion entertained at the time. Gallus and Arruntius are very often mentioned in these Books (see c. 12; 13, etc.).

l. 6. **porta triumphali,** abl. of direction (Introd. p. 11, § 14). This gate was probably closed except at triumphs.

l. 9. **Messala Valerius,** elsewhere called Valerius Messalinus, and stated to be son of the famous orator Corvinus (3. 34, 2).

l. 13. **ea sola species,** etc., i. e. this show of independence was the only form of flattery not stale.

l. 15. **remisit,** etc. They had put it as a 'duty' ('ferendum'), and Caesar, 'with haughty condescension, excused (or released) them' from such service, as if it rested with him to insist on it or not. His expression may have been such as still to leave them free to do it if they pleased, and according to other accounts the corpse was borne by senators to the pyre.

l. 17. **funus divi Iulii.** On that occasion, after the speech of Antonius in the Forum, the people had hastily collected materials and burnt the body in that place, instead of on the pyre prepared, according to custom, outside the walls, in the Campus Martius: other acts of violence had also been committed.

l. 21. **crudi adhuc servitii,** 'when slavery was yet unripe,' not matured by long subservience.

l. 22. **occisus . . . Caesar,** 'the assassination of Caesar.' On this use of the participle, see Introd. p. 16, § 36.

l. 24. **in rempublicam,** 'against the commonwealth:' so in 3. 24, 2. The resources were those given under his will.

l. 27. c. 9. **plerisque,** 'the majority,' as opposed to the 'prudentes.' **vana,** 'trifles,' i. e. mere accidents, such as follow.

l. 28. **idem dies,** Aug. 19, the day of his first election to the consulship, B.C. 43.

l. 30. **numerus consulatuum,** etc. Marius had been seven times, Valerius Corvus six times, Augustus thirteen times, consul. His years of tribunician power count only from his formal assumption of the title, in B.C. 23 (see note on c. 2, 1). The 'nomen imperatoris' (see on c. 3,

1) was repeatedly assumed, not only for his own victories but for those gained by his legati under his 'auspicia,' and is distinct from the 'praenomen imperatoris,' also borne by him from an early date in his career.

P. 49, l. 1. alia honorum, quasi-partitive genit. (Introd. p. 13, § 20 b).

l. 2. **hi.** A verb of speaking is supplied from the sense (Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 3. **parentem,** used, like 'patris' below, of his adoptive father.

l. 5. **per bonas artes,** 'by honourable methods:' cp. c. 28, 5.

multa . . . concessisse, i. e. he permitted their crimes, to secure for himself the punishment of the actual assassins.

l. 10. **principis nomine:** cp. c. 1, 3.

l. 11. **mari Oceano,** a poetical form of expression: see Introd p. 9, § 1.

longinquis, the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates.

l. 12. **legiones,** etc.: see 4. 5, and Introd. p. 30.

l. 13. **ius apud cives,** 'justice in dealing with citizens:' cp. 4. 6, 7.

modestiam, 'moderation,' as in 3. 12, 10, etc.

magnifico ornatu, abl. of quality. Augustus boasted that he had found Rome a city of brick, and left it one of marble.

l. 14. **pauca,** etc., 'a very few cases dealt with stringently.' The reference is to such conspiracies as are mentioned in c. 10, 3.

l. 17. **c. 10. obtentui,** 'for a pretext:' on this dat. see Introd. p. 11, § 12.

ceterum = 'revera autem,' a Tacitean use of the word: cp. c. 14, 3; 44, 6, etc.

l. 19. **consulis,** 'Antonii.' The legiones Martia and Quarta deserted to Octavian (see Cic. Phil. 3. 3, 6).

l. 20. **Pompeianarum:** see note on c. 2, 1.

l. 21. **ius praetoris.** He received the rank of propraetor by the proposal of Cicero (Cic. Phil. 5. 16, 45) in Jan. B.C. 43.

l. 23. **abstulerat,** a similar interposition of an indic. to that of 'fecere' below; these sentences being parenthetical statements of fact, not part of the oratio obliqua, to which 'invaserit' and 'acceperit' belong.

l. 24. **senatu,** probably a form of dat. like 'luxu' (3. 30, 4), etc.

l. 26. **divisiones agrorum,** the assignments of land to soldiers, alluded to by Vergil (Ecl. 1 and 9), etc.

l. 28. **quamquam,** etc. This sentence qualifies the excuse (conceded by 'sane') for his hostility to the actual assassins; and 'sed' contrasts cases for which no such palliation could be found.

l. 29. **pacis,** the treaty made at Misenum in B.C. 39.

l. 31. **Tarentino Brundisinoque.** These treaties were made in B.C. 37 and 40. At Brundusium the marriage of Antonius and Octavia

was arranged, which connexion is represented as having ensnared him ('subdola affinitas').

l. 33. **Lollianas.** Lollius was defeated, with the loss of an eagle, by some German tribes in B.C. 16. On the defeat of Varus, see c. 3, 6, etc.

P. 50, l. 1. **Varrones,** etc. These plurals, like 'Lollianas' and 'Varianas,' are rhetorical, and refer to Terentius Varro Muraena and Egnatius Rufus, put to death for conspiracies in B.C. 23 (or 22) and 19, and Iulus Antonius, son of the triumvir, forced to suicide in B.C. 2 for adultery with Iulia (see 4. 44, 5).

l. 2. **abducta,** etc. Here, as in c. 9, 4, a verb of speaking, such as 'memorabatur,' is supplied from the sense. Livia was divorced from Nero and married to Caesar three months before the birth of her younger son Drusus.

l. 4. **Q. Tedii.** No person of this name is known: Vedius Pollio, a knight of immense wealth, is noted for having thrown live slaves into a pond to feed his lampreys, even in the presence of Augustus.

l. 5. **gravis.** She had helped to destroy the commonwealth by providing a master for it in her son, and was supposed to have destroyed her stepsons to make room for him (see c. 3, 3). 'In rempublicam' may be taken as in c. 8, 7, or as nearly equivalent to a simple dat. (see c. 76, 5).

l. 7. **numinum** = 'quales numinum esse solent,' i. e. statues representing him with divine attributes, as the thunderbolt, etc.

l. 10. **deterrima** = 'cum deterrimo homine:' the inexactness of expression is due to the desire of brevity.

l. 13. **honora,** one of the words found in no earlier prose author (Introd. p. 19, § 45).

quaedam . . . iecerat, 'had let fall expressions (cp. 4. 68, 4, etc.) respecting his deportment, style of dress (cp. 2. 59, 3; 75, 3) and manners' (so 'instituta Parthorum,' 6. 32, 4). His taciturnity and apparent superciliousness (cp. c. 4, 3) gave general offence.

l. 14. **velut excusando.** The apparent excuse offered conveyed a taunt. Augustus is stated to have said that Tiberius could not help his peculiarities.

l. 18. c. 11. **modestia,** 'diffidence.' This quality is elsewhere called by himself his 'pudor' (c. 12, 3) or 'moderatio' (2. 36, 2).

l. 20. **quam arduum,** sc. 'esset' (see Introd. p. 14, § 25).

l. 24. **fidei,** 'honesty:' cp. 'fida oratio,' c. 52, 3.

l. 25. **occuleret,** subjunct. of frequent action (Introd. p. 16, § 34).

l. 26. **suspensa,** 'hesitating.' He is elsewhere described as 'velut eluctantium verborum' (4. 31, 4).

l. 27. **in incertum.** The prep. expresses result: see Introd. p. 17, § 38.

l. 29. **intellegere viderentur.** Their only fear was lest he should see that they saw through his insincerity.

l. 33. **tributa aut vectigalia,** 'direct and indirect taxes.' By 'necessitates' the regular charges on revenue are meant, as distinct from voluntary largesses.

P. 51, l. 5. c. 12. **dixit forte,** 'dropped the expression,' as if unguardedly.

ut . . . ita, 'although . . . yet:' cp. c. 42, 5; 3. 43, 4; 4. 33, 3, etc.

l. 9. **collecto animo,** 'recovering self-possession.'

l. 11. **cui . . . excusari.** No other instance of a dat. 'rei' with this verb appears to be found, but analogous constructions occur with 'prohibere,' and other similar verbs.

l. 15. **laudem** = 'orationem laudatoriam.'

l. 17. **ideo,** nearly equivalent to 'ita,' as in c. 72, 3; 4. 26, 2, etc.

l. 18. **tamquam,** 'on the ground that;' often used in the same way as 'quasi' or 'velut,' in expressions of the real or imagined reason or purpose of an act: cp. 2. 84. 3, etc.

l. 19. **Vipsania,** daughter of Agrippa by his first wife Pomponia (see on 2. 43, 7). Tiberius was compelled by Augustus, most reluctantly, to divorce her in order to marry Iulia (B.C. 11). She was the mother of Drusus, and had also several sons by Gallus, some of whom are mentioned in these Books (3. 75, 1; 4. 1, 1; 34, 1).

l. 20. **plus quam civilia agitaret,** 'he was contemplating a position above that of a citizen' (cp. c. 8, 3, etc.): for the sense of 'ferocia,' cp. 'ferocissimi' (c. 2, 1).

l. 24. c. 13. **artibus,** abl. of quality (see Introd. p. 12, § 17). The word is often used of accomplishments (as in 3. 70, 1; 4. 6, 2), and here of one who was famed as an orator and historian.

l. 27. **suffecturi,** 'though likely to be competent;' best taken absolutely, so as to leave 'adipisci' dependent only on the verbs.

l. 28. **M. Lepidum,** often mentioned in these Books, with a very high character for independence and tact (see 4. 20, 3).

l. 29. **minorem** = 'incapacem.' The word has often the sense of 'too small for,' as in Juv. 3. 203; 15. 140.

l. 30. **casus,** 'opportunity:' cp. 4. 50, 6, etc.

l. 31. **Cn. Pisonem,** also often mentioned, especially as the enemy of Germanicus, 2. 43, 3, etc.

l. 32. **omnes.** Gallus was arrested by order of Tiberius some sixteen years later, and died in custody (see Appendix, p. 209). The fate of Piso was wholly due to his own conduct, and Tiberius was probably not conscious of the charge which led to the suicide of Arruntius (see Appendix, p. 211) just before his own death.

l. 33. **Q. Haterius,** noted for servility (3. 57, 3), and as a fluent but careless speaker (4. 61, 2).

P. 52, l. 1. **Mamercus Scaurus,** noted as a man of high family but

bad character (3. 66, 3). His words here conveyed the insinuation that Tiberius was not in earnest; Haterius had merely shown impatience.

l. 8. **flexit**, intrans. as in c. 34, 5, etc., and in Vergil and Livy.

l. 9. **desineret.** The use of this verb with inf. pass. is to be noted as rare.

l. 11. **genua advolveretur**, an expression imitated from Sallust (see Introd. p. 22, § 58, 1).

l. 14. **curatissimis** = 'accuratissimis,' 'most solicitous;' cp. 'curatius,' 2. 27, 1.

l. 19. **c. 14. muliebre fastigium**, 'the exaltation of a woman:' 'fastigium' is used of rank in general (e.g. 4. 40, 7), and of the highest rank (e.g. 3. 29, 2).

l. 21. **aram adoptionis**: for instances of such commemorative altars, cp. 3. 18, 3; 4. 74, 3.

l. 22. **proconsulare imperium.** This must be understood as not valid all over the empire, like that of the princeps (Introd. p. 24), but such as to make him superior to the legati of the German and Gaulish provinces.

l. 27. **nominavit.** This 'nominatio' was no more than the publication of a list of candidates qualified to receive votes; but if the number of the names was the same as that of the vacancies, there was practically no choice.

l. 28. **obstrinxit**, used absolutely (cp. 4. 31, 5); 'se' being taken with 'excessurum.'

l. 29. **c. 15. comitia**, etc., i. e. the election of magistrates was transferred from the 'comitia centuriata' (which met in the Campus Martius) to the senate. On this change, see Introd. p. 25. 'Tum primum' refers to the election of these praetors.

l. 32. **rumore**, used of popular talk, as in 3. 29, 5, etc.

P. 53, l. 1. **moderante**, sc. 'sibi,' 'restricting himself.'

commendaret. This 'commendatio Caesaris' is distinct from the 'nominatio' mentioned above (c. 14, 6) and was given to only a few candidates for each magistracy, who were called 'candidati Caesaris' and elected first as a matter of course.

l. 4. **de nomine**, 'named after:' cp. 'suo de nomine,' Verg. Aen. 1. 277.

Augustales. These games are mentioned in c. 54, 3, etc.

l. 5. **decreta pecunia . . . utque**, abbreviated for 'decretumque ut:' cp. a similar construction in 4. 16, 6, and with other verbs in 3. 63, 2; 4. 33, 2.

l. 6. **curru vehi.** This privilege, as well as the triumphal robe, was allowed to the praetor celebrating the Ludi Magni: cp. Juv. 10. 36; 11. 192.

l. 8. **evenisset**, sc. 'sorte,' i e. to whoever should be by lot the 'praetor peregrinus' of the year.

l. 9. c. 16. **Pannonicas.** Pannonia, a Caesarian province of the first rank, extended along the Danube from Vienna to Belgrade. Both it and the neighbouring province of Delmatia (see 4. 5, 5) are sometimes comprised under the general name of 'Illyricum' (cp. c. 46, 1, etc.).

l. 10. **mutatus princeps** = 'mutatio principis:' cp. Introd. p. 16, § 36 b.

l. 13. **Blaeso.** This Blaesus is elsewhere noted as uncle of Seianus, and as proconsul of Africa (3. 35, 2, etc.).

l. 18. **theatralium operarum**, 'of persons employed in the theatre;' here apparently used specially of 'claqueurs' or hired applauders. Hence the mention below of 'histrionale studium,' which probably means 'studium erga histriones.'

l. 22. **dilapsis**, 'had dispersed to their tents.'

l. 24. c. 17. **iam et** = 'iam etiam,' an expression generally modified to this form by Tacitus for the sake of euphony.

l. 25. **velut contionabundus**: so 'prope contionabundus' (Liv. 3. 47, 3, etc.); the idea in both expressions being that of colloquial speech so public and emphatic as almost to amount to a set harangue.

paucis, etc. The legion had sixty centurions and six tribunes.

l. 26. **quando ausuros**, oratio obl. for 'quando audebimus.'

nutantem, 'tottering,' not yet firmly seated.

l. 31. **dimissis.** This word is here used, like 'dimitterentur' in c. 78, 2, and 'exauctorari' in c. 36, 4, of a fictitious discharge instituted by Augustus, whereby a soldier who had completed his nominal term of service was transferred from the ranks of the legion to a separate corps, called 'vexillarii' or 'veterani sub vexillo' (see c. 26, 2; 35, 2; 36, 4; 39, 2; 44, 6; 3. 21, 2), and in that condition was kept waiting indefinitely for his final discharge.

l. 32. **tendentes**, 'living in tents,' a military use of the word, appearing also in Verg. Aen. 2. 29.

alio vocabulo, 'under another name' (see above).

l. 33. **vita superaverit**, 'shall have outlived:' so 'uter eorum vita superarit,' Caes. B. G. 6. 19, 2.

adhuc = 'insuper,' as in 4. 55, 7, etc.

diversas, 'distant:' cp. 2. 60, 2; 4. 46, 3; after Vergil (Aen. 3. 4, etc.).

P. 54, l. 1. **per nomen** = 'in nomine' (cp. 'per acies,' c. 2, 1). On the quasi-partitive genitives 'paludum,' 'montium,' see Introd. p. 13, § 20.

l. 2. **enimvero** = ἀλλὰ μήν, anticipating the objection that soldiers might save out of their pay.

4. **saevitiam centurionum.** This and 'vacationes munerum'

refer to the same practice. Soldiers might buy from the centurions exemptions from task-work or furloughs, and extra tasks were often put on to force them into doing so.

l. 5. **redimi**, 'was bought off.' From this the sense of the simple 'emi' is to be supplied by zeugma with 'vestem,' etc.

l. 6. **exercitas**, 'spent in toil:' so 'exercita militia,' c. 35, 2.

l. 8. **singulos denarios.** This would be considerably more than the ten 'asses' mentioned above; since, by the lowering of the copper standard in the Hannibalic war, the 'as' had come to be only $\frac{1}{16}$ of the 'denarius.'

l. 10. **isdem in castris**, i. e. at the time and place of discharge.

pecunia, in cash, instead of assignations of worthless land (see above, § 5).

l. 13. **non obtrectari**, etc., ironically, 'we do not speak disrespectfully of a sentinel's watch in Rome; but our quarters are among savage races, with the enemy in sight.' On the dat. 'sibi,' see Introd. p. 10, § 8.

l. 19. c. **18. agitaverint**: cp. c. 5, 1. The verb takes an inf. in 2. 4, 5; 82, 3.

l. 20. **eum honorem**, i. e. to give its name to this 'una legio.'

l. 21. **aquilas**, etc. Each legion had one eagle, under the custody of its chief centurion ('centurio primopilus'). This passage would show that each of its ten cohorts had a 'signum:' also each of its thirty maniples had a 'vexillum' (see c. 34, 4).

l. 22. **sedes**, the spot where the eagles, etc. were collected.

l. 23. **properantibus** might possibly be a dat. like 'pectori adcreverat' (c. 19, 1), or a concise abl. abs (see Introd. p. 12, § 19 b).

l. 28. c. **19. pectori adcreverat.** Such a dat. is found with 'advolutus' in c. 23, 2, and with 'adrepere' in c. 74, 2, etc.: cp. 'adpulit oris,' Verg. Aen. 7. 39, etc.

l. 30. **multa dicendi arte**, abl. of quality with brachylogy (Introd. p. 12, § 17).

l. 33. **parum in tempore**, 'inopportunely' = οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ: cp. 3. 41, 3, etc.

P. 55, l. 1. **tenderent . . . meditentur.** The pres. and imperf. subjunct. are sometimes interchanged without apparent reason, as in H. 4. 81, 4, 'si pellerentur . . . si . . . vis adhibeatur.'

l. 6. **ab sedecim**, 'after sixteen years.' Cp. c. 26, 2; 'ab hac contione,' Liv. 24. 22, 6.

l. 7. **provenissent**, 'had succeeded:' cp. 4. 12, 3. This sense of the word is almost peculiar to Tacitus.

l. 8. **filius . . . orator**, 'the fact that the general's son was spokesman.' This concise construction (cp. 'Agrippina . . . commotior,' c. 33, 6) resembles that of participles (Introd. p. 16, § 36).

l. 9. **expressa**, 'extorted:' cp. c. 39, 3, etc.

l. 10. **obtinuissent**, potential subjunct. (Introd. p. 16, § 33).

l. 11. c. 20. **Nauportum**, Ober-Laybach, in Carniola, near the frontier of Italy.

l. 12. **ob itinera.** Soldiers were often employed in road-making.

postquam turbatum ... accepere, 'when they heard that mutiny had broken out.'

l. 15. **praefectum castrorum.** One such officer appears to have existed in each camp, whatever the number of legions contained in it: see c. 23, 2; 32, 6; 38, 2, etc.

l. 21. **vetus operis.** On the genit., see Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

l. 26. c. 21. **etiam tum**, as distinct from the time when all discipline was at an end, and the centurions fled for their lives (c. 23).

l. 29. **cuius manipularis erat**, 'in whose ranks he served.' The term merely denotes one of the rank and file (see above, and c. 20, 2) and is related no less to 'centuria' than to 'manipulus.'

l. 32. **nihil reliqui faciunt** = 'nihil praetermittunt,' 'leave nothing undone.' The genit. is quasi-partitive (see Introd. p. 13, § 20), and the phrase found in Caesar and Sallust.

l. 33. **permoverent.** The imperf. is adapted to the really past force of the historic present.

P. 56, l. 3. c. 22. **duces.** Hitherto there had been only Percennius and his 'ministri' (c. 17, 1). 'Et' gives an instance in support of a statement, as in 2. 50, 1; 3. 38, 1.

l. 6. **intentos**, used concisely for 'intente observantes.'

l. 10. **gladiatores.** Provincial governors often kept a troop of gladiators, to court popularity by shows.

l. 12. **sepultura invident.** The construction of this verb with an abl. of the thing grudged, usually also with dat. of the person, as 'non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus' (Liv. 2. 40, 11) is common in the silver age, and such an abl. would appear to be a Latin equivalent of the genit. used with *φθονεῖν*.

l. 13. **dum**, 'provided that.'

l. 16. c. 23. **Incendebat haec**, 'he was giving these words more power to kindle:' cp. 'sermones ... incendit,' 2. 82, 4; 'haec accendebat,' c. 69, 7.

l. 24. **aberant.** On this indic., as also on 'parabant' (§ 6), see Introd. p. 15, § 32.

l. 27. **cedo alteram**, 'another here!:' so often in Plautus, Terence, etc.

l. 28. **vite.** The vine-rod used in punishing the Roman soldier is the 'insigne' of the centurion (cp. 'vitem posce,' Juv. 14. 193).

l. 30. **perferendis ... mandatis**, 'for delivering their message,' i.e. to be spokesman of their demand: cp. c. 26, 1; 57, 3; 3. 10, 2.

l. 32. **cognomento.** This was probably his real name (cp. 2. 9, 2; 60, 3, etc.), as nicknames are generally explained (see above, and c. 41, 3).

l. 33. **morti deposcit,** 'demands for death,' i. e. with a view to his death: cp. 'incessit itineri et proelio,' c. 51, 4, and the phrase 'receptui canere.' This usage is akin to the gerundive dat. noted in Introd. p. 11, § 11.

P. 57, l. 3. c. 24. **abstrusum,** 'reserved.' This word appears to be here alone used of persons, analogously to the more common use of 'tectus,' 'occultus,' etc.

l. 5. **primoribus civitatis:** cp. 3. 65, 2. The most distinguished of those sent was Cn. Lentulus (c. 27, 1).

l. 6. **ex re,** 'in accordance with circumstances:' so 'ex memoria,' 2. 63, 1; 'ex delicto,' 3. 27, 2; and the common expressions 'ex sententia,' etc.

l. 8. **Germanorum.** A body-guard of German horsemen, set up by Augustus, had been dismissed by him after the defeat of Varus, but apparently restored before the end of his life.

l. 10. **Seianus,** here first mentioned. His early history is given in 4. 1; his father was mentioned in c. 7, 3.

l. 11. **ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator,** 'to hold before the rest their perils and rewards.' The context seems to show that 'ceteri' are not the legions, but the troops sent from Rome, whom he was to warn how much they had to gain or lose by their behaviour.

l. 12. **per officium,** 'by way of respect.'

l. 14. **insignibus,** 'the decorations,' or 'dona militaria' (cp. c. 44, 7; 3. 21, 3), which formed the full dress of the Roman soldier.

l. 16. c. 25. **portas . . . firmant,** etc. Some part of the escort of Drusus appears to have entered with him (c. 27, 1), but the main body would appear to have remained outside (c. 30, 1, and note on c. 27, 3), and may have been quartered in the winter camp, which appears to have been at no great distance.

l. 25. **plurima bella.** Tiberius had held command here in B.C. 12–9, and in the great revolt of A.D. 6–9.

l. 29. **quem neque,** etc., 'which should not be treated as having no right to concede or to resist.' 'Severitas' has probably the same sense here as (in opposition to 'largitio') in c. 36, 3. Elsewhere it would rather denote punishment, as in c. 46, 2, etc.

l. 32. c. 26. **a sedecim:** cp. c. 19, 4.

P. 58, l. 2. **arbitrium . . . obtenderet,** 'was pleading the authority,' i. e. that they must decide on such requests. For this use of 'obtendere,' cp. 3. 17, 2; 35, 2, and 'obtentui,' c. 10, 1.

l. 3. **augendis . . . stipendiis**, etc., dat. of purpose, cp. Introd. p. 11, § 11.

l. 5. **cunctis**, an exaggeration. Every centurion could use his vine-rod (c. 23, 4), but only their commander, the 'legatus Augusti,' could put soldiers to death.

l. 7. **rettulisse**, 'had repeated:' so 4. 4, 3; cp. 'nota refert meretricis acumina,' Hor. Epp. 1. 17, 55.

l. 8. **filios-familiarum.** By Roman law, the son was not 'sui iuris' while his father lived. Tiberius had been thus under the 'postestas' of Augustus; Drusus was under that of Tiberius.

quod imperator, etc. Stress is laid on 'commoda;' 'imperator' being also emphatic in relation to 'militis.' They would say that the 'emperor,' who has full power over soldiers (see Introd. p. 24), only refers to the senate when it is a question of rewarding them.

l. 11. **sub dominis**, 'under despotism' (see 2. 87, 2, and note there), here invidiously contrasted with 'sine arbitro' ('without control of any kind').

l. 13. **c. 27. ut quis . . . occurreret**, 'whenever any . . . met them.' On the form 'ut quis,' see Introd. p. 10, § 3; on the subjunct., Id. p. 16, § 34.

l. 15. **causam discordiae**, etc., in apposition, not with 'manus,' but with the idea denoted by the sentence (see Introd. p. 11, § 5).

l. 16. **gloria belli.** His military successes are mentioned in the notice of his death (4. 44, 1).

l. 17. **militiae flagitia**, 'military outrages.' 'Flagitium' is used generally of mutinous conduct in c. 43, 2; here it might possibly = 'flagitationes,' and refer to their extravagant demands.

l. 18. **cum Caesare.** It is probably not meant that Drusus was also intending to depart, but that he was escorting Lentulus so as to see him safely out of the camp. It is implied in 'repetentem' that the winter camp had been previously occupied by the force sent from Rome, and in its being chosen as a refuge, that some of these troops still occupied it.

provisu, a word peculiar to Tacitus and only used in the abl., oftener in the sense of 'forethought' than 'foresight;' but cp. 'providebat,' 4. 41, 3.

l. 22. **multitudinis**, 'the main body,' explained by the following words to be not that of the legions, but the force from Rome. If they were quartered in the winter camp (see above) we must suppose it to have been near, and that they had advanced from it to a gate of the summer camp, at which this assault and rescue took place.

l. 25. **c. 28. languescere.** It is evident that an eclipse is meant, though this verb is nowhere else used in such a sense. The date is fixed by astronomical calculation to Sept. 26.

l. 27. **prospereque cessura**, etc., equivalent to 'resque prospere cessuras, ea via qua pergerent,' 'that the course on which they were advancing (that of mutiny) would succeed.' The sense of 'thinking' is supplied (see Introd. p. 14, § 24) from 'adsimulans.'

l. 28. **aeris sono . . . strepere.** Popular superstition regarded an eclipse as a conflict of the moon with an enchantment, to be counteracted by this din of metal. This is alluded to by Juvenal (6. 442); and Vergil calls eclipses 'Lunae labores' (G. 2. 478).

l. 32. **mobiles,** 'readily inclined to:' so 'mobilior ad cupiditatem,' Liv. 6. 6, 1.

P. 59, l. 2. **in sapientiam vertenda,** 'should be made to serve their plan.' 'Consilia' and 'casus' are similarly opposed in c. 70, 5.

l. 4. **vigiliis, stationibus.** The distinction between these terms is possibly that between a night patrol and stationary outposts; the 'custodiae portarum' being a class of the latter.

l. 5. **metum intendunt.** This might mean 'increase their fear' (cp. 2. 38, 6, etc.), or, more probably, 'threaten terrors' (cp. 'intento metu,' c. 39, 4; 'intenta pericula,' 3. 48, 4).

l. 9. **denique,** 'in short': often used to point a climax, as in c. 26, 3.

pro Neronibus et Drusis. Tiberius represented (by birth) the families of the 'Claudii Nerones' and 'Livii Drusi.'

l. 12. **mereare . . . recipias,** potential subjunctives.

l. 15. **omittunt portas.** These had been secured against the force of Drusus (c. 25, 1); the standards had been brought together at the first outbreak (c. 18, 3).

l. 19. c. 29. **nobilitate,** apparently here used with a sense approaching to that of γενναιότης ('generosity').

l. 22. **orantibus,** abl. abs.: see Introd. p. 12, § 19 b.

idem Blaesus: see c. 19, 4.

l. 23. **cohorte,** 'the retinue:' so in Hor. Epp. 1. 3, 6, etc., a sense of the word appearing in the modern 'court' and 'courtier.'

l. 24. **primi ordinis centurio** = 'centurio primopilus.'

l. 29. **ex duce metus.** For the phrase 'metus ex aliquo,' cp. 2. 38, 6; 72, 2; 3. 65, 1; and the use of 'ex' in 3. 6, 3.

l. 30. **promptum ad asperiora.** On the temperament of Drusus, see c. 76, 5; 4. 3, 2.

l. 32. **obrutos,** 'were hastily buried:' so 'cadaver levi cespite obrutum,' Suet. Cal. 59.

l. 33. **ostentui,** 'to point the lesson.' On this dat., see Introd. p. 11, § 12.

P. 60, l. 2. c. 30. **centurionibus,** etc. The centurions had fled (c. 23, 5) probably to the protection of the praetorians outside (see c. 27, 3).

l. 6. **tutari**, 'to keep them standing.' The fall of the standards would be thought ominous.

l. 8. **nec frustra**, etc., 'not without a cause (cp. 3. 58, 1) did the stars grow dull.' The sense of a verb for this sentence is supplied from 'formido.'

l. 10. **piaculo**, 'from guilt:' cp. 'commissa piacula,' Verg. Aen. 6. 569.

l. 12. **nonanus**, sc. 'miles,' as a variation for 'legio.'

l. 13. **desolatus**, 'isolated:' so 'desolati manipli,' Verg. Aen. 11. 870.

l. 15. **praesentia**, 'affairs on the spot:' so in c. 45, 1; 2. 47, 4.

l. 17. c. 31. **Germanicae legiones**. These constituted the chief force of the empire (see Introd. pp. 29, 30). There were two provinces, comprising all the German tribes (Ubii, Tungri, etc.) on the Gallic side of the Rhine; which river, since the defeat of Varus, was mainly the frontier, though the Chauci (c. 38, 1), Frisii (see 4. 72, 1), and some others beyond it still held to Rome.

l. 18. **magna spe**, abl. abs.

l. 20. **cuncta tracturis**, 'who would draw all others after them' (cp. 'tractis' below): on the concise use of the participle, see Introd. p. 16, § 35.

l. 22. **regimen summae rei**. The 'proconsulare imperium' of Germanicus (see c. 14, 4) placed him over these two officers, the 'legati Augusti propraetore' (cp. Introd. p. 28) of the two 'Germaniae,' and also over the legati of Gaul. Silius was still in command seven years later (see 3. 42, 2, etc.), and was subsequently brought to trial and killed himself (4. 18, 19): Caecina has the cognomen 'Severus' (3. 18, 3; 33, 1).

l. 23. **agendo . . . censui**, 'assessing the census,' i. e. receiving the returns of property ('accipienti,' c. 33, 1) which the provinces of Gaul ('Galliae') had to furnish.

l. 30. **nuper**, four years ago, after the defeat of Varus; on which emergency freedmen, and even slaves manumitted for the purpose ('vernacula multitudo'), were enlisted.

l. 31. **laborum intolerans**. Such a genit. (see Introd. p. 13, § 21 b) is used again with this part. in 2. 75, 1, and with 'tolerans' in 4. 1, 4.

venisse, etc. A participle of speaking is suggested by the sense of 'implere.'

l. 33. **modum miseriarum**, 'a limit to their hardships,' i. e. to such as are specified in c. 35, 1, etc.

P. 61, l. 5. **augeri**. They consider themselves as engaged, under Germanicus, in advancing the empire by the reconquest of what was lost with Varus.

in suum cognomentum adscisci, 'took from them their name,' i. e. that of 'Germanicus,' conferred at the death of their former 'imperator,'

Drusus, on his posterity, and hence borne by their present leader. The expression is used of giving a family name to a person by adoption (3. 30, 3, etc.).

l. 7. c. 32. **plurium**, 'the more part:' so in 2. 38, 7; 3. 34, 1, and often in Tacitus.

l. 11. **sexageni singulos**. The meaning appears to be that the legion views itself as one body, and each of its sixty centurions as having chastised the whole; for which his body has to suffer retribution from sixty chastisers.

l. 12. **convulsos**. This word is used of persons on the rack; so probably here of limbs dislocated by violence.

l. 16. **mox**, some twenty-seven years later (A.D. 41). He is implied at this time to have been a centurion, and had then become a tribune of the praetorian guard.

l. 17. **animi ferox**: so 'ferox scelerum,' 4. 12, 3 (cp. Introd. p. 13, § 21 c). In such expressions, 'animi' may possibly be a locative: see Roby, 1168.

et armatos, emphatic = 'et quidem armatos.'

l. 19. **vigilias, stationes**. Cp. c. 28, 5.

l. 21. **altius coniectantibus**, 'forming their opinions from a deeper insight.' 'Altius' has a similar concise or pregnant force in 2. 82, 5; 3. 25, 3; 62, 4; 'coniectare' is used of 'forming an estimate' of persons in 12. 49, 3.

l. 22. **disiecti** = 'sparsi,' as in c. 61, 3; 3. 2, 5; 4. 46, 3.

l. 23. **pariter** = 'simul,' as in c. 47, 3; 4. 2, 2, etc.

l. 24. **regi**, 'that they were under strict discipline.'

l. 25. c. 33. **ut diximus**, c. 31, 2.

l. 26. **neptem**. On the family connexions and children of Germanicus and Agrippina, see Introd. p. 32.

l. 31. **credebatur . . . redditurus**, 'he was believed to have been likely to restore the republic.'

l. 33. **civile**: cp. c. 8, 3, etc.

P. 62, l. 1. **adrogantibus et obscuris**. Both adjectives belong to both substantives; as a countenance may be called 'obscurus,' in the sense of 'inscrutable.' The 'superbia' attributed to Tiberius (c. 4, 3) took the form of an offensive manner (c. 10, 7).

l. 3. **atque ipsa . . . commotior**, sc. 'accedebat;' i.e. besides the 'stepmother's acrimony' of Livia, there was also the fact that Agrippina was somewhat passionate; both causes producing these 'feminine jealousies.' On the temper of Agrippina, cp. 2. 72, 1; 3. 1, 1; 4. 52, 3; 53, 1, etc.; on the use of 'commotus,' cp. 2. 28, 3; 4. 3, 2.

nisi quod, 'were it not that;' i.e. her temper would have deserved a bad name but for the course it took.

l. 4. in bonum vertebat, 'gave a good turn to,' i. e. by enlisting such qualities on the side of virtue and in the cause of her husband.

l. 7. **c. 34. seque et.** The MS. has only 'seque,' which Halm follows many others in altering to 'Sequanos.'

proximos, 'those about him' (as the legati and his 'amicorum cohors'). The word appears so used in 4. 12, 7.

l. 8. **in verba eius,** i. e. to the oath of allegiance (c. 7, 2), conceived as prescribed by him.

l. 11. **audiri coepere.** The use of 'coepi' with inf. pass. (other than middle passives such as 'fieri,' 'videri,' etc.) is chiefly poetical, but found in Livy.

l. 15. **responsum,** sc. 'est,' 'they replied that they would hear better as they were' (cp. 'sic quoque,' 4. 40, 4). This refusal is contrasted with their reluctant obedience to his next order.

vexilla. The term denotes the ensigns of maniples rather than of cohorts (see c. 18, 3); but even by bringing these to the front some order would ensue, as soldiers instinctively grouped themselves round their colours (see c. 38, 4).

l. 17. **flexit.** The use of this verb of a turn of speech or thought (cp. 4. 37, 2; 41. 2) appears to be Tacitean.

l. 23. **c. 35. modestia,** 'subordination' (cp. c. 49, 6, etc.).

l. 26. **indiscretis,** 'undistinguishable.' These cries are shouted all at once confusedly.

l. 27. **pretia vacationum:** see on c. 17, 6.

l. 28. **propriis nominibus,** 'specifically,' as the kinds of their hard work that were most burdensome.

vallum, fossas, i. e. the construction of these.

l. 29. **materiae lignorum,** these are distinguished; the first being timber for military purposes, the latter firewood.

si qua alia . . . quaeruntur, 'whatever other tasks are devised.'

l. 30. **adversus otium castrorum,** 'to prevent idleness in camp.'

veteranorum: see c. 17, 4.

l. 32. **mederetur . . . orabant.** The combination of constructions here with 'orabant' is extremely harsh, and it has been thought that 'mortem' should be altered to 'morerentur' or followed by 'obirent.' If the text is sound, it must be supposed that the sentences are intended to be abrupt and exclamatory, as in c. 41, 2, etc.

l. 33. **exercitae:** cp. c. 17, 7.

P. 63, l. 2. **reposcerent.** To demand this of him was in itself 'faustum omen,' as implying that they held him to be the lawful heir, which was probably more explicitly asserted. The legacy is that mentioned in c. 8, 3.

l. 6. **potius quam**, etc. The construction is an abbreviation for 'potius quam ita victurum, ut,' etc.

l. 7. **deferebat . . . ni**: see Introd. p. 16, § 32.

l. 9. **quidam singuli**, in contrast with 'conglobata,' as 'propius incedentes' with 'extrema pars.'

l. 11. **addito**, abl. abs.: see Introd. p. 12, § 19 a.

l. 14. **c. 36. etenim.** This introduces considerations which made the need of remedial measures more pressing.

l. 15. **superiorem**: see c. 31, 2.

l. 16. **oppidum**, their chief town. Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and mother of Nero, was subsequently born there; and through her influence the town became 'Colonia Agrippinensis;' whence the modern name, Köln or Cologne.

l. 17. **manus**, best taken as 'troops;' this meaning being required by 'erupturas,' and the metaphor being similar to that of H. 3. 15, 4, 'Ut civili praeda milites imbuerentur.'

l. 18. **gnarus . . . hostis**, 'the fact that the enemy was aware.' The adj. has here the usage noted with participles in Introd. p. 16, § 36.

l. 20. **suscipi.** The construction still depends on 'augebat metum.'

severitas, 'rigour,' apparently in the sense of 'peremptory refusal' (cp. c. 25, 3), explained by 'seu nihil' below, as 'largitio' by 'sive omnia concederentur.'

l. 24. **missionem**, 'full discharge:' cp. c. 37, 1; 52, 1, etc.

exauctorari. This verb would also naturally imply full release, but is here qualified by the context, so as to mean discharge from the ranks of the legion to the condition of a 'vexillarius' (c. 17, 4). Similar qualification attaches to 'dimissis' (l. l.), 'missi' (c. 39, 2), and 'dimitterentur' (c. 78, 2). The freedom from camp duties would seem to have been a new concession, not a standing privilege of the veterans (cp. 'eosdem labores,' c. 17, 4).

l. 28. **c. 37. in tempus**: cp. 'ad tempus,' c. 1, 2.

l. 29. **differebatur**, 'was to be deferred.' The context shows that immediate payment was demanded by two legions, and also given to the other two.

l. 30. **non abscessere**, i.e. to their winter quarters at Vetera (c. 45, 1).

l. 31. **viatico**, used of the private stock or savings of a soldier, as 'collecta viatica,' Hor. Epp. 2. 2, 26.

l. 33. **civitatem Ubiorum.** They were already 'in finibus Ubiorum' (c. 31, 3), so that 'civitas' here probably means the 'oppidum' (c. 36, 1).

P. 64, l. 1. **de imperatore rapti.** These words are emphatic, and explain 'turpi agmine,' the deposition of money with the standards for safe keeping being not in itself unusual.

l. 2. **superiorem**: see c. 31, 2. The head-quarters of this province were at Moguntiacum (Mainz).

l. 4. **sacramento**, sc. 'in nomen Tiberii.'

l. 7. c. 38. **in Chaucis.** Those of this tribe who are here meant appear to have lived on the coast between the Weser and Ems. They joined the Roman expedition in the following year (c. 60, 3).

l. 8. **vexillarii.** This term is often used of 'detachments' of any kind, and does not here appear to denote the 'veterani sub vexillo,' who were still at head-quarters (c. 35, 2).

discordium, 'disaffected:' so 'dissideat' (c. 46, 1), 'discordare' (3. 40, 4).

l. 10. **castrorum praefectus**: cp. c. 20, 2. In putting soldiers to death, he usurps a function of the 'legatus Augusti' (see on c. 26, 3).

l. 12. **non praefectum**, etc. A verb of speaking is supplied (see Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 15. **ripam.** That of the Ems ('Amisia') may probably be meant.

l. 16. **turbidos**, 'seditious' (cp. c. 34, 6; 43, 5); 'et' having the force of 'et tamen' (cp. 'avidum et minorem,' c. 13, 2).

l. 18. c. 39. **legati**, probably those sent to invest him with 'proconsulare imperium' (c. 14, 4).

regressum, sc. from the upper army (cp. c. 37, 4).

aram Ubiorum. This altar, apparently situate in the 'oppidum Ubiorum' (c. 36, 1), had a German priest (c. 57, 2), and was probably consecrated to Augustus and Roma (see on c. 59, 6).

l. 20. **sub vexillo**, best taken as qualifying 'missi' (cp. c. 36, 4), i.e. 'ita missi ut sub vexillo retinerentur.'

l. 21. **conscientia**, 'consciousness of guilt,' as in c. 57, 2, etc.

l. 22. **expresserant**: cp. 'expressa,' c. 19, 5.

l. 23. **quamvis**, etc., 'to set up a culprit (cp. c. 6, 6) for ever so false a charge.'

l. 25. **vexillum**, probably to be explained by 'sub vexillo' above, as that of the veterans. Germanicus appears to have retained it in his own keeping; and the men, thinking that their discharge was now to be revoked, demand their flag as a guarantee.

l. 26. **in domo.** This house, and the quarters of the veterans who commit this assault, appear to be outside the camp of the legions (see below).

situm = 'positum;' so used of statues, etc. in c. 74, 4; 2. 37, 3; 4. 64, 3.

l. 27. **moliuntur**, 'break open:' cp. 2. 82, 8.

cubili, probably abl.: cp. 'rure extractus,' Hor. Sat. 1. 1, 11.

l. 29. **consternatione**, 'the tumult:' cp. c. 63, 3, etc.

l. 32. **castra primae legionis.** Each legion had separate winter

quarters, though here two were in the same town, and possibly in distinct portions of a common enclosure.

l. 33. **religione.** Eagles are called 'legionum numina' (2. 17, 2); and thé 'principia' (see on c. 61, 3), where the standards were kept, had also the image of the 'princeps' (see 4. 2, 4) and the altar for sacrifice (the 'altaria deum' here spoken of).

P. 65, l. 2. **rarum,** etc., parenthetical: see Introd. p. 20, § 51.

l. 4. **noscebantur,** 'were capable of recognition:' cp. 4. 62, 5.

l. 5. **imperat recepitque.** Such interchange of the historical present with a perfect is seen in 2. 7, 1; 20, 2, etc.

l. 6. **fatalem.** This epithet, explained by 'deum ira,' softens the censure conveyed in 'increpans' by treating them as hardly responsible beings. The sense of 'dicens' is supplied from 'increpans' with 'resurgere.'

l. 8. **ius legationis,** 'the privilege of ambassadors:' cp. 'sacra legationis,' c. 42, 4. Here the construction is pregnant (see Introd. p. 20, § 53), such a word as 'violatum' being implied with 'ius.'

l. 11. c. 40. **Eo in metu,** etc., 'in this panic all blamed Germanicus:' 'metus' may mean 'circumstances causing fear,' as in 2. 72, 2, etc.

l. 15. **filium**: see c. 41, 3. The elder sons were in Rome, and the daughters yet unborn. Tiberius would be the adoptive 'avus' of the child.

l. 18. **diu cunctatus,** etc. It is meant that he hesitated long to advise her, and that she was long in consenting: the clause 'cum . . . testaretur' explains 'aspernantem.'

l. 19. **degenerem.** This word appears to originate with Vergil: 'ad pericula' = 'ad pericula subeunda.'

l. 21. **incedebat,** 'was starting on foot,' without such vehicles as women of rank generally used. 'Muliebre' and 'miserabile' are also emphatic.

l. 24. **qui manebant,** the husbands and friends parting from them.

l. 26. c. 41. **facies,** sc. 'facies rerum (cp. c. 49, 1) non florenti Caesari, sed urbi captae conveniens erat.'

l. 27. **advertere,** 'attracted:' so in 2. 17, 2; 4. 21, 5, etc.

progrediuntur contuberniis: cp. 'progredior portu,' Verg. Aen. 3. 300; and for other such uses, see Introd. p. 11, § 13.

quis ille, etc. The exclamations are vividly put in their abruptness, without grammatical construction (as perhaps in c. 35, 2). After 'triste,' it is possible that some such word as 'spectaculum' or 'iter' has dropped out.

l. 30. **ad Treveros [et] externae fidei.** With 'et,' 'externae fidei' could only be taken as a dat. depending on the idea of some such verb as 'committi,' supplied from 'pergere:' without 'et,' the words would

be a brachylogical genit. of quality (Introd. p. 14, § 22); 'the Treveri, whose fidelity was but that of foreigners.' On this Gallic tribe, see 3. 40, 1, etc.

l. 32. **socer Drusus**, i.e. the thought, or image of him: pregnant construct. as in c. 39, 8. The relationship expressed is throughout that of Agrippina.

insigni fecunditate. Besides the three sons already born (see Introd. p. 32), three children had died in infancy.

l. 33. **infans.** Gaius Caesar (Caligula) was just two years old. In speaking of him as born in the camp, Tacitus follows a prevalent but, apparently, erroneous account; his real birthplace being Antium. For 'militari vocabulo,' cp. c. 23, 4.

P. 66, l. 2. **vulgi.** Officers above the rank of centurion wore 'calcei;' hence the 'caliga' is so far characteristic of the lower ranks as to be called 'gregalis habitus' (c. 69, 5).

l. 4. **orant obsistunt**, etc. The construction is again designedly abrupt: 'orant' is explained by 'rediret maneret;' 'obsistunt' refers strictly to 'pars . . . occursantes,' and more loosely to 'plurimi . . . regressi.'

l. 6. **recens**, 'fresh from,' i.e. with their influence still strong on him: cp. 'recens praetura,' 4. 52, 2. The abl. is analogous to that of place whence (Introd. p. 11, § 13).

l. 10. **c. 42. liberos**, rhetorical plural; only one child being present.

l. 13. **istud sceleris**, quasi-partitive genit.: see Introd. p. 13, § 20.

l. 14. **pietur**, here used in a peculiar sense ('may exhaust itself'): so Propertius (4. 19, 8) says (of Medea) 'quo tempore matris | iram natorum caede piavit amor.'

l. 15. **inausum intemeratumve.** Both words appear first in Vergil.

l. 16. **quod nomen**, etc. Tacitus appears in this passage to follow a speech of similar character given by Livy (28. 27) as that of Scipio Africanus to his mutinous troops.

l. 18. **proiecta**, 'trampled under foot,' by the insult offered to the 'legati' (c. 39, 6).

hostium quoque ius, 'rights accorded to enemies,' i.e. 'laws of war.' This and the two following expressions dwell rhetorically on the same idea, the conjunctions being epexegetical: 'sacra' means 'sanctity,' as in 2. 65, 4; 'fas gentium,' 'the obligation towards (law of) nations' (cp. 'fas patriae,' 2. 10, 1).

l. 19. **divus Iulius**, etc. The occasion is generally taken to be that of the mutiny of the tenth legion near Rome in B.C. 47. By calling them 'Quirites,' he implied that they were no longer soldiers.

l. 20. **divus Augustus**, etc. The allusion is supposed to be to a mutiny at Brundusium in the winter of B.C. 31–30.

l. 23. **ut . . . ita**: cp. c. 12, 1.

Hispaniae Suriaeve, i. e. 'an army to which I was personally unknown.'

l. 24. **erat**, 'it would be:' cp. Introd. p. 15, § 32.

primane, etc. The construction is partly interrogative, partly exclamatory.

l. 30. **interfici centuriones**, etc.: cp. c. 32, 3; 35, 1. The 'legati' mentioned with the centurions and tribunes are probably the 'legati legionum.' Neither these nor the delegates of the senate are stated to have been 'imprisoned;' but the whole passage is rhetorical.

l. 31. **precariam**, 'on sufferance:' so 'precaria vita,' H. 4. 76, 5.

l. 33. **c. 43. Cur enim**, etc. The thought is 'I am living on sufferance, and it is the fault of my short-sighted friends that I am living at all.' The allusion is to the incidents described in c. 35, 5, 6.

P. 67, l. 2. **melius**, sc. 'fecit' (see Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 3. **tot flagitiorum . . . conscius**, 'implicated with my army in so many outrages.' As responsible for discipline, he treats himself as involved in what he had not prevented.

l. 9. **imago**, explained by 'tui memoria.' The appeal is to the imagination, as also in the apostrophe to Augustus.

cum, 'going along with,' i. e. acting upon their hearts.

l. 10. **gloria**, 'pride:' cp. c. 8, 2, etc.

hanc maculam, explained by 'iras civiles,' as 'eluant' by 'in exitium hostibus vertant.' The attack on the enemy is called, in c. 49, 5, 'piaculum furoris.'

l. 11. **vosque**, a correction of Nipperdey for the MS. 'vos quoque,' which Halm retains.

l. 14. **contactu**, 'contagion:' cp. 4. 49, 4, etc.

dividite. This verb is used by Tacitus (2. 43. 2; 3. 15, 3, etc.), as by poets (Verg. Aen. 3. 383, etc.), without prep. or abl. of separation, in the sense of 'secernere.'

l. 19. **excusavit**, used here with accus. of the thing deprecated, elsewhere with that of the person excused, the act apologised for, or the plea alleged. From it, a verb of speaking is supplied with 'venturum filium.'

l. 22. **legatum legionis**. Since the time of Augustus, each legion had a permanent commander of high senatorial rank (see 2. 36. 1) with this title, instead of being, as formerly, commanded by each tribune in turn.

l. 23. **de singulis**, 'on each severally.' The use of 'exercere' with 'poenas' is Vergilian (Aen. 6. 543).

l. 24. **pro contione**. This would generally describe the position of the speaker rather than the audience (cp. 2. 22, 1). The phrase may

here perhaps mean that the legions were standing 'after the fashion of an assembly;' the gathering being not strictly a 'contio' convened by the general, but self-constituted, and yet a formal gathering, not an irregular crowd.

l. 29. **secuti exemplum**, sc. 'legionum,' from whom the 'veterani sub vexillo' (c. 17, 4) are here clearly separated.

Raetiam. This name here includes not only Rhaetia proper (the Grisons and Tyrol), but also Vindelicia, which extended to the Danube; beyond which lay the tribes of Suebi subjected to Maroboduus (see 2. 44).

l. 30. **specie**, 'under pretext' (cp. c. 4, 4, etc.): the true reason is opposed to it by 'ceterum' (cp. c. 10, 1).

l. 31. **castris**, probably abl.: cp. 'complexu avolsus Iuli,' Verg. Aen. 4. 616.

l. 32. **centurionatum inde egit.** The natural sense of 'centurionatum agere' would seem to be 'to perform the functions of centurion;' but the meaning here required is evidently that he 'reviewed the list of centurions.' The passage may probably be corrupt.

l. 33. **ordinem**, i. e. which century he commanded.

dona militaria, 'decorations:' cp. 3. 21, 3.

P. 68, l. 4. **ubi . . . obiectavissent**, subjunct. of repeated action (Introd. p. 16, § 34). The indic. in the clause above represents the more common usage in earlier writers, and probably no difference of meaning is here intended. The 'avaritia' would be that shown in selling 'vacationes' (see on c. 17, 6).

solvebatur militia. This would mean ignominious discharge, and would be a heavy penalty, as entailing forfeit of all rewards to which their service had entitled them.

l. 7. c. 45. **quintae et unetvicensimae.** The departure of these legions from the summer camp is mentioned in c. 37, 3; their leadership in the original outbreak in c. 31, 3.

l. 8. **Vetera**, in full 'Vetera Castra,' a place often mentioned in the Histories, and situate near Xanten, between Cleves and Wesel.

l. 12. **arma**, used for 'forces' in c. 1, 3, etc.; here especially of the legions, as distinct from the 'socii.'

Rheno, abl. of direction: see Introd. p. 11, § 14.

l. 14. c. 46. **qui fuisset**, etc., 'the issue of the Illyrian (Pannonian) mutiny.' On the abl. abs. 'cognito,' cp. Introd. p. 12, § 19 a.

l. 16. **cunctatione**: see c. 11–13.

dissideat, 'mutinies:' cp. 'discors,' c. 38, 1.

l. 19. **opponere**, 'to bring before them' ('confront them with').

l. 21. **severitatis et munificentiae summum.** The genit. expresses that in respect of which he is called 'summus,' namely, the

power to punish and reward; 'severitas' being used, not as in c. 25, 3; 36, 3, but as in 3. 21, 2, etc.

l. 23. **vigentem annis.** He was really fifty-six, older than Augustus had been at the time of any of the expeditions alluded to.

cavillantem, 'quibbling at:' referring again to the 'cunctatio ficta' spoken of above.

l. 24. **servituti,** invidiously contrasted with 'pacem.' The dat. expresses that for which provision has been made.

l. 25. **fomenta,** 'lenitives;' for the literal sense, cp. c. 65, 10, etc.

l. 26. c. 47. **Inmotum . . . fixumque,** imitated from Verg. Aen. 4. 15.

l. 27. **omittere caput rerum,** 'to leave the capital unguarded:' cp. the similar expression in 3. 47, 2.

l. 28. **dare** = 'committere:' so 'rem in casum dare,' 12. 14, 3.

per, perhaps used to denote an army distributed over a large tract; but this prep. often nearly = 'in' (cp. 4. 55, 7, etc.).

l. 30. **subnixus,** 'supported by:' cp. c. 11, 3.

quos = 'utros.' From 'angebant' is supplied the idea of doubt (with this clause), and of fear (with 'ne . . . incenderentur').

l. 33. **excusatum,** 'it was excusable:' cp. 'excusatius,' 3. 68, 1.

P. 69, l. 3. **ut,** 'as if:' cp. 3. 74, 5; 4. 33, 6, etc. More commonly this Greek construction of ὡς with participles is rendered by 'tamquam,' 'quasi,' or 'velut.'

l. 5. **diutissime,** i. e. though they were the last to hear of it they believed it longest.

l. 8. c. 48. **dandum adhuc spatium,** equivalent to 'expectandum,' with which 'si' can be used in the sense of 'whether,' or 'in case that.'

l. 9. **recenti exemplo,** abl. abs. The example of the two other legions (c. 44) is meant.

l. 11. **praesumant,** 'take beforehand:' cp. 'praesumendo remedia,' 14. 3, 3; and the participle 2. 73, 6; 3. 46, 2.

aquiliferis signiferisque. Having lost his centurions (c. 32, 3), he was obliged to act through these lower officers.

l. 13. **eximant.** This verb generally takes a dat. in Tacitus (e. g. c. 64, 4; 2. 55, 3; 3. 18, 1), as in other post-Augustan writers.

l. 14. **causas,** 'excuses:' cp. 'causatus,' c. 47, 5.

l. 15. **iuxta:** cp. c. 6, 6.

l. 18. **foedissimum quemque.** The same expression is used of persons involved in criminality (opposed to 'boni') in H. 2. 95, 2.

l. 22. c. 49. **Diversa omnium,** etc. The order of words is 'facies (rerum) diversa erat omnium civilium armorum,' etc.; the genit. is probably a strong Graecism (= διάφορος πάντων), somewhat similar to such Horatian constructions as 'abstincto irarum,' 'sceleris purus,' etc.;

and the use of 'facies' for the 'aspect' of a thing (cp. c. 41, 1) appears to originate in such Vergilian expressions as 'laborum facies' (Aen. 6. 103), etc.

l. 26. **cetera**, 'the issue.'

l. 27. **intellecto**, abl. abs. like 'cognito' (c. 46, 1), etc.

l. 29. **ultio et satietas**, hendiadys for 'ultionis satietas.'

l. 33. **etiam tum**, taken closely with 'truces.'

P. 70, l. 1. **piaculum**, accus. in apposition: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 a. With 'posse' a verb of thinking is supplied from 'animos cupido involat' (Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 2. **honesta**, 'of honourable battle,' contrasted with 'impiis' ('polluted by civil war:' cp. 'impius miles,' Verg. Ecl. 1. 71).

l. 3. **sequitur**, 'seconds:' cp. 'adulationem . . . sequitur,' 3. 69, 1.

l. 5. **quarum** applies both to 'cohortis' and 'alae.' On the sense of 'modestia,' cp. c. 35, 1.

l. 7. c. 50. **agitabant** = 'degebant,' as in 4. 46, 1, etc. Cp. 'agere' in c. 4, 4; 68, 1, etc.

iustitio, such as had been also observed in Pannonia (c. 16, 2).

l. 9. **silvam . . . limitemque . . . scindit.** 'Limes' is generally understood here in the sense of a fortified barricade along the frontier, and 'scindit' taken to mean 'penetrates,' or 'passes through,' without necessarily supposing that he had to cut away the barricade to pass it.

l. 10. **in limite**, probably 'at' or 'close to the barrier' (a sense sometimes borne by ἐν).

l. 11. **obscuros**, those in which the route was less certain.

l. 13. **incautum**, 'unguarded,' a poetical sense, found also in Sallust and Livy.

l. 14. **cetera**, in contrast with 'delecta longiore via.'

l. 16. **ludicram**, 'a night of games.'

l. 19. **Marsorum.** This tribe is mentioned again in c. 56, 7; 2. 25, 2, etc. The locality of these villages was probably between the Lippe and the Ruhr.

circumdatae; probably 'vicis' should be supplied, and 'stratis' taken as abl. abs.

l. 21. **disiecta**, 'disorganized:' so 'disiectas per catervas,' 2. 45, 3.

l. 22. **ne pax quidem**, etc., 'even their peace was but the weary and reckless ease of the drunken.' The sentence is much condensed, 'soluta' meaning the state in which men are 'soluti' ('under no control'), and 'inter temulentos' being equivalent to 'cum temulenti essent,' or 'qualis temulentorum esse solet.'

l. 24. c. 51. **avidas**, 'eager for the fray:' so 'avidus Vulcanus,' Hor. Od. 3. 4, 58.

l. 25. **cuneos**, probably used here in a general sense = 'columns.'

l. 28. **templum.** The Germans had no temples; but the term may be used of the consecrated groves in which their altars stood. The deity here mentioned is unknown.

l. 30. **Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes.** The first of these tribes appear to have then lived between the Ems and Lippe, near Münster, the Tubantes south of the Ruhr, the Usipetes, or Usipi, on the right bank of the Rhine, fronting part of the Lower province.

l. 31. **gnarum**: cp. c. 5, 4.

l. 32 **incessitque itineri et praelio,** 'he ordered his advance alike for marching and fighting.' Such a dative of purpose (cp. Introd. p. 11, § 12) usually depends more or less on a substantive following the verb; and 'incessit' has here the force of 'incessum instituit.'

P. 71, l. 3. **donec . . porrigeretur,** 'till they were extended in file.'

l. 4. **adsultantes.** The accus. is found here alone with this verb, but with many similar ones, as below with 'incurrere' and 'evasere' (see Introd. p. 10, § 5 c).

l. 6. **advectus,** sc. 'equo:' so in 2. 45, 4, etc.

l. 7. **illud tempus,** 'the opportunity they had desired' (c. 49, 5).

l. 10. **evasere,** 'got beyond' (so 'silvas evasisse,' Agr. 33, 5): this and similar uses of the verb appear to originate with Vergil.

l. 15. c. 52. **quaesivisset,** in subjunct. as part of the thought of Tiberius. The subject 'Germanicus' is supplied from the following words.

l. 17. **magis in speciem, etc.** 'In speciem' means 'so as to produce an imposing appearance' (cp. 2. 6. 3, and the use of 'in' noted in Introd. p. 17, § 38); and the sense is that his language was too ostentatious to seem sincere.

l. 20. **intentior,** 'more in earnest:' cp. 3. 35, 2, etc.

indulserat, 'had conceded:' cp. 2. 38, 3.

l. 21. **servavit,** probably for 'observavit,' 'he ratified.'

exercitus. The plural appears to mean here 'legiones,' as in 3. 12, 6, etc.

l. 22. c. 53. **Iulia,** the only child of Augustus, married successively to Marcellus, Agrippa, and Tiberius. She was fifty-three years old at her death, and had lived fifteen years in exile.

l. 23. **Pandateria,** Vandotena, a little north of the bay of Naples.

l. 24. **Reginorum,** of Regium or Rhegium, now Reggio.

l. 25. **Gaio et Lucio,** her sons by Agrippa: see c. 3, 2, etc.

l. 26. **tam intima,** 'so real.' 'Tam' is used by Cicero to add force to a superl., as 'tam gravissimis iudiciis' (Phil. 12. 5, 11), 'tam maxime' (de Am. 23). On the retirement of Tiberius to Rhodes, see on c. 4, 4.

l. 28. **interfectum . . . Agrippam**: see c. 6.

l. 29. **inopia ac tabe longa,** 'by privation and slow decay' = 'tabe per inopiam facta.'

l. 29. **longinquitate**, best taken of time = 'duration.' She had been forgotten so long that none would ask how she died.

l. 31. **prave facundus**, 'of unscrupulous eloquence:' cp. 'pudens prave' ('with false modesty'), Hor. A. P. 88.

P. 72, l. 1. **contumacia et odiis**, 'through defiance and antipathy,' i. e. by rousing these feelings in her.

l. 2. **scripsit.** The tense is merely an aorist; whereas that of 'credebantur' is used to express the belief at the time when the letters were written. With 'compositae,' 'fuisse' is to be supplied.

l. 3. **Cercinam**, the 'Karkenah' or 'Kerkena' islands, in the Lesser Syrtis.

l. 4. **quatuordecim annis.** Such an abl. of time throughout which, though rare except in post-Augustan writers, is found in Cicero: see Roby, 1184.

l. 5. **in prominenti litoris.** Such a genit. (Introd. p. 13, § 20 a) after a neut. adj. depending on a prep. is very rare; but other instances are found in Tacitus, as 4. 74, 4 and 'post multum vulnerum,' 12. 56, 5.

l. 9. **vita**, best taken as modal abl. answering to 'constantia.'

l. 13. c. 54. **annus . . . accepit.** Tacitus often personifies 'annus,' as in 2. 53, 1; 4. 15, 1; 23, 1, etc., also 'nox' (as in c. 28, 1), 'lux' (as in c. 70, 7), etc.

caerimonias, i. e. the established 'cultus' of Augustus (cp. c. 10, 8), for which this body of 'sodales,' ranking with the great priestly colleges (see 3. 64, 3), was instituted. There was also a 'flamen Augusti' (see on 2. 83, 2).

l. 14. **Titus Tatius.** Other accounts make Romulus found this priesthood in honour of Tatius, his Sabine antagonist and subsequent colleague in the kingdom.

l. 18. **discordia**, probably 'turbulence:' cp. 'discors,' c. 38, 1, etc.

histrionum, the pantomimists ('histrio' and 'mimus' are interchanged in c. 73, 2, 4), whose art of representing characters by dumb show (described as 'saltare Agamemnona,' etc.) was developed, and almost created, by Bathyllus and others in the time of Augustus. The public interest and excitement respecting them may be gathered from c. 77; 4. 14, 4, etc.

l. 21. **talibus studiis**, probably abl., analogous to such poetical usages as 'meta distabat utraque,' Ov. Met. 3. 145.

civile: cp. c. 12, 6, etc.

l. 22. **alia . . . morum via**, 'his character took a different course' (cp. 'comi via,' 4. 7, 1). Tiberius is called by the elder Pliny 'tristissimus hominum.'

l. 23. **habitum**, 'held in hand,' 'governed:' cp. 'Hispaniae . . . habebantur,' 4. 5, 1.

l. 23. **ad duriora**, 'to sterner courses:' cp. 'dura virtus,' G. 31, 5.

l. 24. c. 55. **decernitur triumphus.** This could only be for the insignificant campaign of last year (cc. 49–51). The actual triumph took place two years later (2. 41, 2).

l. 26. **repentino . . . excursu**, contrasted with 'summa ope,' as is 'initio veris' with 'in aestatem.' The Chatti lived in the present Hesse Cassel.

l. 27. **praecepit**, 'anticipated:' cp. 2. 35, 2; 3. 57, 1.

dissidere in, 'were forming factions of.' Such a construction appears analogous to that sometimes found with verbs of distribution: cp. 2. 8, 1; 67, 4; also 'socios partitur in omnes,' Verg. Aen. 1. 194.

l. 28. **Arminium**, a Latin form of 'Hermann.' The character and career of this prince are summed up in 2. 88, and other relatives of his are mentioned in c. 57, 5; 58, 9; 60, 1; 2. 9, 2. His leadership of the Cheruscans and other German tribes began with the rising against Varus; at which time he was but twenty-five years old (2. 88, 4), but had already served with the Roman armies (2. 10, 3), and, according to Velleius, had received the Roman citizenship and even equestrian rank.

Segestem. His son is mentioned in c. 57, 2, a brother and nephew in c. 71, 1.

perfidia . . . aut fide, 'the one for treachery, the other for fidelity:' cp. the similar use of 'aut' in 2. 46, 3; 3. 63, 6, etc.

l. 33. **crimina et innoxios** = 'noxios et innoxios.' Such a variation of the expression is analogous to those noted in Introd. p. 20, § 54, and its harshness here is somewhat mitigated by the frequent use in Tacitus of abstract for concrete (Id. p. 9, § 1).

P. 73, l. 1. **fato**, by blindness which must have been ordained by destiny.

l. 4. **gener invisus inimici soceri.** The two last words are best taken as genit. sing., and explained by distinguishing 'invisus' from 'inimici;' the meaning being that Arminius, already at enmity with Segestes on public grounds, was additionally hateful to him from the way in which he became his son-in-law. This is expanded in the next sentence ('quaeque . . . erant'), where 'apud infensos' answers to 'inimici,' and 'incitamenta irarum' to 'invisus.'

l. 9. c. 56. **Caecinae.** He was to hold in check the Cherusci, etc. (see § 7).

l. 11. **Tauno**, the high tract between Wiesbaden and Homburg. The fort of Drusus appears to have been close to the Rhine.

l. 12. **rapit** = 'raptim ducit' (cp. 4. 25, 2), a sense originating apparently with Vergil (Aen. 7. 725; 10. 178; 308).

munitiones, taken strictly with 'viarum,' and loosely (in the sense of 'bridging') with 'fluminum.'

l. 14. inoffensum, 'uninterrupted:' this sense, and the transitive use of 'properare,' are chiefly poetical.

l. 17. Adranam, the Eder, which takes a north-easterly course, and, a little above Cassel, joins the Fulda, itself a tributary of the Weser.

l. 24. Cheruscis. This great tribe had been, ever since the rising against Varus, at the head of the German resistance. Their locality was in parts of Hanover, Brunswick, etc., but their confederation extended further to the west.

l. 30. c. 57. quanto . . . promptus. On such abbreviations of comparative sentences, see Introd. p. 17, § 40.

l. 32. conscientia: cp. c. 39. 3. The abl., as also 'memoria' (§ 6) is causal (see Introd. p. 12, § 18).

l. 33. anno quo, etc. The plural 'Germaniae' generally denotes the two Roman provinces; and the rising of A.D. 9 is here assumed to be the revolt of a country subject to Rome.

P. 74, l. 1. aram Ubiorum: cp. c. 39, 1.

l. 4. pretium = 'operae pretium,' as in 2. 35, 1, etc. The abbreviation appears to be peculiar to Tacitus.

l. 7. uxor, etc. Her name, according to Strabo, was Thusnelda.

l. 8. animo, abl. of quality.

in lacrimas, 'so as to shed tears:' cp. Introd. p. 17, § 38.

l. 12. bonae societatis, 'alliance faithfully kept;' like 'bona fides,' etc.

l. 17. c. 58. ex, 'in accordance with,' like 'ex sententia,' 'ex more,' etc.

l. 19. conducere, sc. 'iudicabam,' supplied by zeugma from 'probabam:' see Introd. p. 20, § 52; and, on the omission of 'magis' before 'quam,' see Id. p. 17, § 40.

l. 24. nox, that of the banquet (c. 55, 3).

l. 25. quae secuta. This glances at his share in hostilities, as 'consensu gentis in bellum tractus' (c. 55, 4).

l. 27. tui copia, 'access to you:' more commonly 'conveniendi' is added.

l. 28. antehabeo. This word is found only here and in 4. 11, 5.

l. 32. utrum praevaleat, 'which should have more weight with you.'

P. 75, l. 2. vetere, the province on the Gallic side of the Rhine. It is assumed, as above (c. 57, 2) that further Germany is also part of the province, though in revolt.

nomen imperatoris: see on c. 3, 1. We see here that it was given by decree of the senate, on the motion of the princeps.

l. 3. virilis sexus. His name is given by Strabo as Thymelicus; but any subsequent mention of him by Tacitus has been lost.

l. 5. conflictatus est, 'was harassed:' cp. 2. 20, 3, etc.

in tempore, 'at the proper time:' cp. c. 19, 2.

l. 7. c. 59. **invitis aut cupientibus.** This attracted dative is an extension of the Græcism elsewhere restricted in Latin to 'volenti' and 'volentibus,' which are thus used in a few places (see Roby, 1152).

spe vel dolore, abl. of manner: see Introd. p. 12, § 16.

l. 8. **rapta uxor, etc.,** 'the thought of his wife's seizure and the enslavement of her unborn child:' cp. Introd. p. 16, § 36.

l. 13. **sibi,** dat. commodi, as is also 'sibi . . . firmabat,' c. 71, 5.

legatos. Probably here and in c. 61, 6, the 'legati legionum' (see on c. 44, 3) are meant.

l. 18. **sacerdotium hominum,** 'his priesthood to a man.' He was probably priest to Augustus (c. 39, 1; 57, 2), whose divinity Arminius thus contemptuously denies (cp. below, § 7). Several other readings have been suggested, but this sense appears to be satisfactory.

Germanos, etc. Stress seems to be laid on 'Germanos' ('true Germans'), in indignant contrast to Segestes, and the sentence 'quod . . . viderint' forms the object of 'excusaturos;' the meaning being that they could never make sufficient apology to themselves (never forgive themselves) for having allowed the insignia of Roman occupation to be ever seen between the Rhine and Elbe.

l. 20. **aliis gentibus, etc.,** i. e. those who knew it not might think it good for them. 'Ignorantia' is causal abl. (cp. c. 57, 2).

l. 21. **nescia** = 'ignota:' so in Plautus.

l. 23. **delectus,** probably an ironical allusion to him as professedly princeps by the state's free choice (c. 7, 10).

l. 25. **colonias novas,** 'new settlements,' such as those of many tribes, and now of Segestes and his train, on the 'victa ripa.'

l. 28. c. 60. **sed,** without 'etiam,' as in c. 81, 1; 2. 14, 3, etc.: 'etiam' is also used without 'sed' (Introd. p. 17, § 40).

l. 31. **quadraginta cohortibus,** the four legions of the lower army (c. 64, 8).

l. 33. **mittit.** This verb is thus used with gerundive dat. of purpose (Introd. p. 11, § 11) in 2. 1, 2.

finibus, local abl. indicating direction, like 'via,' etc.: see Introd. p. 11, § 14.

Frisiorum. This tribe, at that time subject to Rome (see 4. 72, 1), occupied most of the coast of Holland, where part of their territory still retains the name of Friesland.

P. 76, l. 2. **lacus:** cp. 2. 8, 1. These lakes are now merged in the Zuider Zee.

l. 3. **Chauci:** see c. 38, 1.

l. 5. **L. Stertinius,** mentioned often in these campaigns, and always as a leader of cavalry and light troops (c. 71, 1; 2. 8, 4; 11, 4; 17, 1; 22, 3).

l. 8. **haud procul.** The sense of a participle of 'sum' is supplied with the abl. abs.

l. 9. **Teutoburgiensi saltu.** The district is generally identified with the Osning, and the locality of the disaster placed near Detmold, at the north-east of Westphalia.

l. 10. **dicebantur,** sc. 'esse.' For the construction, cp. 'intellegebantur,' c. 61, 3.

l. 14. **c. 61. occulta saltuum**: cp. 'umido paludum' below; such genitives have the force of a mere adj. (Introd. p. 13, § 20).

l. 15. **pontes et aggeres**: these are coupled also in 4. 73, 2. On the former, see note on c. 63, 6; the latter appear here, and in 2. 7, 5, to be roads roughly constructed by embankment.

l. 16. **incedunt.** A simple accus. of place is found with this verb in Tacitus alone: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 c. The pl. 'loci' is rarely used, as here, of a locality, oftener as in 2. 20, 1.

visu, the actual appearance, as opposed to the associations ('memoria').

l. 17. **prima . . . castra,** i. e. that pitched after the first day's fighting. The final catastrophe took place on the fourth day.

l. 18. **principiis,** the central space of a camp, into which soldiers were collected for an address (c. 67, 1), and in which stood the 'praetorium,' etc. This camp, besides being 'lato ambitu,' had such a space regularly marked out.

trium legionum manus ostentabant, 'were evidence of the work of three legions,' i. e. of the undiminished army.

semiruto, 'half levelled' (4. 25, 1) and thus showing itself to have been slenderly constructed.

l. 19. **accisae,** 'diminished:' so used of 'opes' in Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 114.

consedisse intellegebantur: cp. Introd. p. 15, § 29.

l. 20. **ut fugerant,** etc., 'scattered or heaped, according as the men had fled or rallied.'

l. 22. **ora,** 'human skulls.'

lucis, abl. of position (Introd. p. 11, § 14).

l. 23. **primorum ordinum**: cp. c. 29, 2.

l. 25. **elapsi**: for the accus. cp. 4. 64, 3; Introd. p. 10, § 5 c.

l. 27. **infelici dextera et suo ictu,** hendiadys. His hand was 'hapless' in that it could only help him in his despair.

l. 28. **patibula,** 'crosses,' as in 4. 72, 5. The 'scrobes' were probably trenches in which men were buried alive.

l. 29. **utque,** 'and how:' cp. 2. 4, 5; 3. 9, 1, and note there. Such a construction is used by Cicero only with 'video' and 'audio.' On the use of 'per,' see note on 1. 2, 1.

l. 30. c. 62. **sextum post**, etc., a rare form of expression (see Madvig, 276, obs. 6) for 'sexto anno post cladem.'

P. 77, l. 4. **trahenti**, 'interpreting;' so used of action, with 'in' or 'ad,' in 3. 22, 6; 4. 64, 1, etc.: cp. 'varie trahebant,' c. 76, 6.

l. 5. **formidolosiorem.** The word appears here alone to take the construction of 'pavidus,' etc., and has not often the sense of 'timorous.'

l. 6. **auguratu et . . . caerimoniis.** The office of 'augur' and its ritual dated from the early regal period; and the old priestly colleges had strict rules respecting defilement by contact with the dead.

l. 9. c. 63. **copia**, 'opportunity;' usually with genit., as c. 58, 6; 2. 7, 2, etc.

evehi, 'to charge;' a military term, as is also apparently 'eripi,' 'to be carried by a rush.'

l. 15. **gnaram**: cp. c. 5, 4.

l. 17. **manibus aequis**, 'after indecisive conflict;' a phrase taken from Sallust and Livy, and here apparently a virtual admission of defeat.

ad Amisiam, i.e. to the mouth of the Ems, where the fleet was stationed.

l. 18. **legiones . . . reportat.** These words are perhaps interpolated, and are certainly inaccurate; as, even of the four legions under the special command of Germanicus (c. 60, 3), two were to make part of the retreat by land (c. 70, 1).

l. 19. **litore**, abl. of direction, like 'finibus' (c. 60, 2).

l. 21. **pontes longos.** Marshes were sometimes bridged by mere timbers laid, like sleepers, along the ground. Here some more permanent, though decayed structure, seems to be described. The locality is doubtful, but commonly taken to be that of the Bourtanger morass, south of the estuary of the Ems.

l. 22. **L. Domitio**: see 4. 44, 3.

l. 25. **compendiis viarum**, 'short routes:' cp. 'compendia maris,' 2. 55, 3.

l. 28. **in loco**, 'where he was;' i.e. where he had to repair the bridge: cp. 4. 47, 3.

l. 29. **opus et alii praelium.** Such an expression is not strictly identical with 'alii . . . alii,' but rather distinguishes the action of the smaller from that of the larger body. Other writers generally omit the conjunction, as 'navibus iunctis . . . alii vadis conati,' Caes. B. G. 1. 8, 4.

l. 31. c. 64. **nisi.** The infin. with 'nitor' is rare, but found in Sallust, etc.

l. 33. **ad gradum**, 'to take stand upon:' so in the phrase 'gradu deicere' (Cic.)

P. 78, l. 2. **sueta**, 'customary.' This participle is rarely, 'consuetus' more commonly, used of things in this sense.

l. 4. **inclinantes**, 'giving way:' the dat. depends on 'exemit,' as in c. 48, 2.

l. 7. **subiecta**, i.e. 'loca iugis subiecta:' cp. 'subiecta vallium,' c. 65, 1.

l. 13. **medio.** The legions, drawn up in a 'thin line' along this 'planities,' would be between the enemy on the wooded hills and the baggage struggling along the causeway over the morass. and would be able to hold the former in check while the latter made progress on their way.

l. 17. c. 65. **per diversa**, i.e. from a different cause on either side.

l. 19. **interruptae voces**, sc. 'essent' (cp. c. 7, 1, etc.). From a parallel passage (H. 5. 22, 5), 'interrupto signo et vocibus,' this would appear to mean that the challenge of the patrol lacked its usual regularity and promptness.

l. 22. **dira quies.** Here, as in 2. 14, 1, etc., 'quies' is generally taken to mean 'a dream' (as 'somnus' in Verg. Aen. 2. 794), but might bear its usual meaning, the dream itself being sufficiently indicated by the epithet.

l. 23. **emersum.** The simple abl. with this verb (see Introd. p. 11, § 13) is found also in Sallust.

l. 24. **manum**, etc., 'thrust aside his hand as he held it out to him.' Usually 'manum intendere' expresses a hostile gesture, as in 4. 3, 2, etc.

l. 26. **campo umentia ultra**, apparently not the 'planities' which they were intended to occupy (c. 64, 7), but a solid spot outside the part of the morass furthest from the enemy. By occupying this, they left the baggage, etc., on the causeways exposed to attack.

l. 28. **caeno fossisque**, probably an abl., partly local, partly instrumental: cp. 'criminibus haerebant' (4. 19, 5); 'haeret pede pes' (Verg. Aen. 10. 361): see also note on c. 68, 3.

l. 29. **utque** = 'atque, ut solet,' etc. The 'ut' before 'haesere,' in the sense of 'when,' extends its force to 'aures,' and this clause, with another 'ut,' is interposed parenthetically.

P. 79, l. 1. **lubrico paludum** = 'lubrica palude:' cp. c. 61, 2, etc. 'Lapsantes' is apparently from Vergil (Aen. 2. 551).

l. 7. **aperta et solida**, probably a different solid spot from either of those mentioned before, and apparently beyond the neighbourhood of the forest: cp. 'non hic silvas nec paludes' (c. 68, 4).

l. 9. **agger**, 'material for the mound' (see note on 2. 81, 2). The mound is here distinguished from the palisade ('vallum') surmounting it.

l. 12. **funestas.** The darkness was 'that of the grave,' i.e. ominous of their fate: cp. 'feralibus . . . tenebris,' 2. 31, 2.

l. 15. **c. 66. obturbavit,** apparently 'threw down,' as in H. 3. 25, 2 ('postquam impulsos sensit . . . denso agmine obturbabat'), and sometimes 'proturbare.'

l. 17. **aversa hosti.** The praetorian gate, to which this was opposite, always faced the enemy. 'Aversus' probably takes a dat. in Hor. Sat. 2. 3, 107 ('aversus mercaturis').

l. 18. **comperto,** abl. abs.: cp. 4. 36, 4; Introd. p. 12, § 19 a.

l. 20. **proiectus,** 'throwing himself down.' Pompeius, as a young man, stopped the treasonable desertion of a body of troops by similar means.

l. 24. **c. 67. principia:** see c. 61, 3.

l. 25. **temporis ac necessitatis monet,** 'warns them of the crisis and urgency.' The simple verb here takes the construction of 'admoneo:' cp. 2. 43, 5.

l. 27. **expugnandi hostes spe.** This inversion for 'hostes spe expugnandi' appears to be no more than an affectation of style.

l. 29. **perveniri,** rhetorical, 'this sally carries you to the Rhine,' i.e. no further difficulty will obstruct your march.

l. 31. **in castris honesta.** Probably their past distinctions are meant, in contrast to 'adversa,' such as the defeat on the previous days (c. 64, 3; 65, 9), or possible disasters yet in store for them. Others take it to mean their general sense of military honour.

l. 32. **orsus a suis,** 'first his own, then those of the legati and tribunes.' This was to make up for the loss of horses (c. 65, 5).

P. 80, l. 1. **nulla ambitione,** i.e. to the bravest, whoever they might be, without respect of persons, and without their solicitation: cp. 'sine ambitione,' 4. 64, 2.

l. 4. **c. 68. agebat:** absol. as in c. 4, 4; 3. 19, 2; 38, 4, etc.

l. 6. **atrociora,** 'more spirited:' cp. 'atrox animus,' Hor. Od. 2. 1, 24, and the similar sense of 'ferox' and 'ferocia,' c. 2, 1; 12, 6, etc.

l. 7. **ambirent,** 'they should encircle:' cp. 2. 19, 3.

promptam, 'easy:' cp. 'promptam . . . possessionem,' 2. 5, 4.

l. 8. **proruunt fossas,** a pregnant expression (see Introd. p. 20, § 53) for 'proruunt terram in fossas.' The hurdles were also thrown over the trench, by way of bridges.

l. 9. **super,** adverbial: cp. 'incensa super villa,' 3. 46, 7.

l. 10. **haesere munimentis,** probably abl. as in c. 65, 4, meaning that they were 'impeded by ('trying to surmount') the earthworks.'

l. 12. **impetu,** abl. of manner: cp. c. 59, 1; Introd. p. 12, § 16.

tergis . . . circumfunduntur, by a sally from the gates.

l. 15. **quanto inopina:** cp. c. 57, 1, etc.

l. 17. **avidi,** absol. (as in c. 51, 1, etc.), as is also 'incauti;' 'rebus secundis' and 'adversis' being abl. abs.

l. 23. c. 69. **fama**, taken both with genit. and with accus. and inf.

l. 26. **ingens animi**: cp. c. 32, 5.

munia . . . induit: for metaphorical uses of 'induere,' cp. 2. 15, 2; 4. 12, 1, etc.

l. 28. **vestem et fomenta**, 'clothes to the former, medicaments to the latter.'

C. Plinius. The allusion is to a history of the Roman wars in Germany, mentioned by the younger Pliny as one of the works of his uncle.

l. 30. **laudes et grates . . . habentem.** No such expression is elsewhere noted; but 'laudes gratesque agere alicui,' and 'laudes habere de aliquo' are found.

l. 31. **non enim.** The verb of thinking is supplied from 'id animum penetravit:' cp. Introd. p. 14, § 24.

simplices, 'without ulterior purpose;' some political design lurked beneath her attentions.

P. 81, l. 1. **tamquam parum ambitiose** = 'tamquam non satis ambitiose,' 'as if she did not court them enough by,' etc. For 'ambitiose,' cp. 3. 13, 2, and 'ambitiosum,' 3. 33, 3; on the 'gregalis habitus,' see c. 41, 3.

l. 3. **potiorem**: here 'potior esse' = 'plus posse,' 'was more influential.'

l. 4. **conpressam . . . seditionem**, an invidious exaggeration of the effect produced by her departure (c. 41).

l. 5. **accendebat haec onerabatque**, 'was inflaming (cp. c. 23, 1) and aggravating (c. 19, 2) these thoughts.'

l. 6. **odia . . . iaciens**, 'sowing seeds of jealousy for a distant future, which he might bury and bring to light with increase.' Cp. the description of this trait in Tiberius in c. 7, 11.

l. 8. c. 70. **at Germanicus**, etc. The narrative is taken up from c. 63, 5, and the tense of 'vexerat' is referred to the time mentioned in c. 60, 3. This Vitellius, an uncle of the subsequent emperor, was with Germanicus at his death, and took a prominent part in the accusation of Piso (2. 74, 2; 3. 10, 2, etc.).

l. 11. **reciproco sideret**, sc. 'levius,' 'might ground less heavily (sooner get afloat again after grounding) at ebb-tide.' For this sense of 'sidere,' cp. 2. 6, 2.

l. 13. **sidere aequinoctii**: 'sidus' is used of the season of the year by Vergil, 'hiberno moliris sidere classem' (Aen. 4. 309). The abl. may perhaps be causal, or 'simul sidere' may be an abl. abs., in the sense of 'it being also the season.'

l. 16. **brevia**, 'shallows,' a poetical term (Verg. Aen. 1. 111, etc.) used in prose by Tacitus alone.

l. 16. **sternuntur**, sc. 'homines,' supplied from 'agmen.'

l. 19. **subtracto solo**, 'out of depth.'

l. 20. **vox et mutui hortatus**, hendiadys, 'the voice of mutual encouragement.'

l. 22. **involvebantur**, 'were enwrapped in the waves:' cp. 'aqua involvens navemque virumque,' Verg. Aen. 6. 336.

l. 24. **utensilibus**, 'necessaries.' The word is used specially of food in 2. 60, 5; and, in 3. 52, 3, even of luxuries of diet.

l. 26. **illic** = 'apud illos.' 'Hic' and 'ille' are here referred to the nearer and more remote object of thought, irrespective of the order of mention (cp. 2. 82, 7).

usus, 'resource,' or 'opportunity:' so persons who anticipate condemnation by suicide are said 'uti morte' (6. 48, 5), or 'necessitate' (16. 11, 1).

l. 28. [**Visurgin**]. These troops were marching from the mouth of the Ems (see c. 63, 5) along the coast of Holland, so that some river in that locality, and not the Visurgis (see 2. 9, 1), must be meant. It is probable that Tacitus gave no name, and that 'Visurgin' is the gloss of some ignorant commentator.

l. 29. **submersas**, sc. 'fuisse.'

l. 32. c. 71. **filium**. Strabo gives the name of this son as Sesithacus.

P. 82, l. 3. **Galliae Hispaniae**. These plurals, like 'Germaniae,' denote the several provinces, of which there were four in Gaul and three in Spain.

l. 8. **gloria**: cp. c. 8, 2; 43, 4, etc.

l. 9. **sibique et praelio firmabat**. The verb is taken in two senses; 'he was securing them to himself (i. e. in their attachment to him: cp. 3. 60, 1), and strengthening them for battle.'

l. 10. c. 72. **triumphalia insignia**. From the later time of Augustus, and always afterwards, a triumph or ovation was awarded only to the princeps or his family (see c. 55, 1; 3. 11, 1; 47, 4); others being forced to be content with a distinction termed that of 'triumphalia insignia' or 'ornamenta;' by which fiction they were entitled, without having triumphed, to be called 'triumphales' (3. 30, 4, etc.), and to be distinguished by 'laureatae statuae' (4. 23, 1) and other marks of such an honour. On Caecina and Silius, see c. 31, 2, etc.; on Apronius, c. 56, 1.

l. 11. **nomen patris patriae**. This title had been given to Cicero (Juv. 8. 243), and was formally accepted by Augustus from B.C. 2. Tiberius persistently refused it (2. 87, 2), but it is generally borne by succeeding principes. It is formally regarded as given by popular acclamation ('ingestum').

l. 13. **in acta sua iurari**. The ordinances ('acta') of Augustus were

maintained by an oath taken by the senate in his lifetime, and were thus permanently enforced after his death (see 4. 42, 3). Afterwards, this annual oath, taken on Jan. 1, kept in force the 'acta' of the existing 'princeps,' and of most of his predecessors; but the name of Tiberius was never included in the list of those to be maintained. The accus. and infin. pass. after 'permittere' are rarely found.

l. 16. **legem maiestatis reduxerat.** The whole passage shows that the law had not really fallen into abeyance; but from this time forth it is more systematically enforced than under Augustus.

l. 20. **minuisset**, taken by zeugma, in some such sense as 'laesisset,' with 'exercitum' and 'plebem.' 'Populi Romani' suggests the contrast that the law now protected only the 'maiestas principis.'

inpune. Tacitus often uses this adv. as predicate, with 'esse' (as in 2. 52, 9; 3. 28, 2) or 'haberi' (as in 3. 70, 3).

l. 22. **Cassii Severi**: see 4. 21, 5. His banishment probably took place in A.D. 8 or 12.

l. 24. **an iudicia . . . redderentur**, i.e. whether the courts were to receive such cases, and assign jurors to try them.

l. 27. **discordem, etc.**: cp. 3. 64, 1; 4. 57, 4.

l. 29. c. 73. **modicis**, i.e. not 'inlustres equites' (see 2. 59, 4).

l. 33. **cultores Augusti.** We gather that bodies, like 'collegia,' of persons so called were kept up ('habebantur') for the private 'cultus' of Augustus in the greater houses.

P. 83, l. 4. **violatum periurio numen**: for a similar charge later, see 3. 66, 2. That men swore by the 'numen Augusti' even in his lifetime, appears from Hor. Epp. 2. 1, 16.

l. 5. **consulibus.** This, as well as all the other trials for state offences mentioned in these Books, were conducted before the senate (see Introd. p. 26), of which the consuls were the regular presidents.

l. 8. **ludis**, probably those known as a three days' festival held in the Palatium, and called 'ludi Palatini.'

l. 11. **perinde . . . quam si**, 'just as if.' This combination is peculiar to Tacitus.

l. 12. **deorum iniurias dis curae.** Roman law prescribed no penalties for perjury, leaving the criminal to the judgment of the offended deity.

l. 13. c. 74. **praetorem.** Bithynia was a senatorial province, and its governor would strictly be styled 'proconsul' (see Introd. p. 28); but 'praetorem' may be used to imply that Marcellus was only of praetorian rank, or as a term for governors in general (cp. 4. 15, 3).

l. 14. **quaestor ipsius.** The old Roman sentiment held that a quaestor was in too intimate a relation with the proconsul to be his accuser (Cic. Div. in Caec. 11. 18).

l. 14. **postulavit.** Tacitus often uses with this verb the genit. usual with 'accuso,' etc. (3. 66, 2; 70, 2, etc.).

l. 15. **subscribente,** 'appearing as subordinate accuser.'

Romano Hispone. This person is known otherwise as a professional rhetorician, and is more likely than Crispinus to be the subject of the following sentences.

l. 16. **audaciae,** abst. for concr., 'daring deeds.'

l. 18. **adrepit.** The word is used of those who worm themselves into a position, and here denotes what we might speak of as 'getting the ear of the prince's vindictiveness' (cp. 3. 50, 5).

l. 22. **sed . . . insimulabat.** Probably 'insimulabant' should be read; but, if the text is right, the subject, notwithstanding the long parenthesis, must be 'Crispinus;' as the charge brought by Hispo is distinguished below. 'Sed' often marks the return from a digression, as in 3. 62, 3; 63, 5, etc.

l. 23. **inevitabile crimen;** in apposition with the sentence: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 a.

l. 24. **obiectaretque reo,** 'and charged the accused with mentioning them.' If what he was alleged to have said was known to be true in fact, all would believe that he had really said it.

l. 28. **exarsit,** sc. at the slight offered to the divinity of Augustus. The destruction of any statue was a significant act: cp. 3. 14, 6; Juv. 10. 58.

l. 29. **palam et iuratum.** The former word is in contrast to a silent vote ('per discessionem:' cp. 3. 69, 9); the latter implies a solemn assertion that the vote was given on grave public grounds (see 4. 31, 5).

l. 30. **eadem necessitas,** that of also voting openly and on oath.

l. 31. **Cn. Piso:** see c. 13, 3, etc.

P. 84, l. 1. **quantoque,** etc. With 'paenitentia patiens,' 'tanto magis' is to be supplied (see Introd. p. 17, § 40); 'paenitentia' is a causal abl.

tulit, probably referring to 'laturum sententiam' above. He gave the first vote for acquittal.

l. 3. **reciperatores.** Such a board was merely a civil tribunal to assess the amount which he was to refund; the more serious criminal charges being quashed by the vote above given, or dropped.

l. 4. c. 75. **iudiciis adsidebat,** 'he would sit as assessor in the law-courts,' besides being constantly present at the trials held before the senate ('patrum cognitiones') mentioned in the previous chapters (see on c. 73, 3). In these ordinary courts the praetor (c. 72, 4) presided; whose curule chair was placed on an elevated tribunal in the apse at the end of the basilica.

l. 5. **multa . . . constituta,** 'many decisions were established.'

l. 6. potentium preces, those of influential 'advocati' present in court; which formed one of the many kinds of 'ambitus' (c. 2, 2).

l. 7. **veritati** = 'aequitati:' cp. 3. 16, 5, and 'ex vero,' 4. 43, 4. The 'libertas' here contrasted with it is the independence of judges.

l. 8. **inter quae**, etc. This narrative is apparently one of a petition to the senate, inserted here as bearing on the interest of Tiberius in questions of justice.

l. 10. **aerarii praetoribus**. The public treasury was then under the charge of two of the praetors of the year. Caesar gives the money himself out of the 'fiscus.'

l. 13. **veniam ordinis**, 'leave to resign senatorial rank.' By so doing he might live on a less expensive scale, and would be free to trade as a knight.

l. 14. **deciens sestertium**. Augustus had fixed the senatorial census at this sum; and those who were impoverished by their own extravagance were liable to be degraded.

l. 15. **paternas**, 'inherited,' i.e. not his own fault: so in 3. 32, 2.

l. 17. **quae rite faceret**. To demand that they should prove their case was 'rite factum;' to force them to do so before their brother senators seemed harsh.

l. 20. c. 76. **stagnaverat**, 'had flooded:' this transitive sense is very rare.

relabentem . . . strages. Probably 'relabentem' is aoristic, and 'strages' is used both of the fall of buildings, and of mortality (through pestilence bred by stagnant water) among human beings; the latter being the most usual occasion for consulting the Sibylline books, then preserved in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, under charge of the 'quindecimviri sacris faciundis.'

l. 23. **coercendi**, defining genit: cp. 'effugium . . . prorumpendi,' 2. 47, 2: also 3. 63, 6; 4. 2, 4.

Ateio Capitoni: cp. 3. 70, 2; 75, 1: on L. Arruntius, see c. 13, 1, etc.

l. 24. **Achaiam et Macedoniam**. The former province included all Greece proper, Thessaly, and Epirus; its metropolis being Corinth: the latter adjoined it on the north, having for its chief cities Thessalonica and Philippi.

l. 25. **levari . . . placuit**, 'it was resolved that they should be for the time relieved from proconsular (senatorial) command, and given over to Caesar.' The Caesarian provinces appear generally to have been more economically governed; and in this case the expense of separate staffs was saved by placing both provinces under the legatus of Moesia (c. 80, 1).

l. 27. **quamquam vili**, 'true, that it was but worthless blood,' such

as a Roman need hardly be thought cruel for liking to see shed. On the character of Drusus, see c. 29, 2, etc.

l. 28. **in vulgus**, 'in relation to the rabble,' nearly equivalent to a simple dat.: see notes on 2. 39, 3; 48, 1; 4. 2, 1.

formidolosum, probably best taken as accus., in apposition with 'quod;' 'et' having the force of 'etiam,' and 'arguisse' taking an accus. of the thing censured, as in 3. 59, 2; 4. 33, 6, etc.

l. 30. **trahebant**: cp. c. 62, 3: from this verb 'abstinuisse dicebant' is supplied below. 'Taedio,' etc., are causal ablatives.

taedio coetus, etc. 'from weariness of crowds.'

tristitia, 'austerity:' see the contrast of his character and that of Augustus in c. 54, 4.

P. 85, l. 1. **concessam . . . materiem**, i.e. that his motive was the desire of making his son unpopular.

l. 3. c. 77. **proximo priore anno**: see c. 54, 3.

l. 4. **occisis**, aorist: cp. Introd. p. 16, § 35.

set. The MS. has 'et,' which has been corrected either to 'set' or 'sed' (without 'etiam,' as in c. 60, 1), or to 'etiam' (without 'sed,' as in 3. 19, 2).

l. 8. **Haterius Agrippa**: see on 2. 51, 2.

l. 10. **simulacra**: cp. 'imago libertatis' (c. 81, 4), 'antiquitatis' (3. 60, 1).

l. 14. **lasciviam**, 'want of self-restraint.'

l. 16. **alibi . . . sectarentur**, i.e. not to court them in social life. Others retain the MS. 'spectarentur,' which would mean that the actors were not to exhibit in private houses.

et . . . potestas . . . fieret. With this clause 'ut' is supplied from 'ne;' as 'idque' stands for 'utque id' in 3. 51, 3; 69, 1, and for 'et ne id' in c. 79, 1.

l. 19. c. 78. **colonia Tarraconensi**, the modern Tarragona, the chief city of the largest Spanish province ('Hispania Tarraconensis'), and a colony of Julius Caesar.

l. 20. **datumque . . . exemplum**. In his lifetime, Augustus had permitted temples to himself and Rome, at various places in the provinces; but this was probably the first national temple to 'divus Augustus' alone, and the precedent which the whole empire felt bound to follow.

l. 21. **centesimam . . . deprecante populo**. Further account of this tax of one per cent. on things offered for sale is given in 2. 42, 6. The 'bella civilia' referred to are those ending in Actium.

l. 22. **militare aerarium**, a special fund instituted by Augustus in A.D. 6, from which bounties were to be given to soldiers on their discharge.

l. 23. **simul,** 'even with its help.'

l. 24. **nisi vicensimo,** etc., i. e. unless the concession, by which 'missio' was to be given after sixteen, instead of after twenty years' service (c. 36, 4), was revoked. This concession had reference not to complete discharge, but to 'missio sub vexillo;' which is here meant by 'dimitterentur' (cp. 'dimissis,' c. 17, 4).

l. 25. **male consulta,** 'the ill-advised measures:' cp. 'mollibus consultis,' c. 40, 1.

sedecim stipendiorum, probably genit. of quality, as expressing the term of years by which the end was reckoned.

l. 26. **expresserant:** cp. c. 19, 5; 39, 3.

l. 27. c. 79. **Actum . . . an,** 'the question was raised, whether,' etc. The matter had been referred to these persons (c. 76, 3).

l. 29. **augescit,** ind. pres., because this fact is no part of the question.

municipiorum et coloniarum, a common expression for the Italian towns (3. 55, 4; 4. 67, 1, etc.): the difference between the two was no longer important; and 'coloniae' is used below (§ 5) as a common term for both.

l. 30. **Clanis,** the Chiana, a tributary of the Tiber, rising in the marshes below Cortona and Arretium, near other streams which flow northwards into the Arno.

l. 31. **idque . . . adferret.** On 'idque,' see note on c. 77, 5. 'Adferret' = 'adferre sineretur:' cp. 'traheret' (2. 58, 1), 'maneret' (2. 81, 3), 'exstrueret' (4. 37, 1), etc.

l. 32. **Interamnates.** Interamna (Terni), in Umbria, lay between two branches of the Nar (Nera): 'superstagno' is nowhere else found.

P. 86, l. 1. **Reatini.** Between Reate (Rieti) and Interamna, the lake and river Velinus are discharged into the Nar by a passage cut or widened by M'. Curius, forming the famous Falls of Terni.

l. 2. **lacum . . . obstrui recusantes.** This verb here takes such construction as that found with 'prohibeo' (c. 69, 1, etc.), 'permitto' (c. 72, 2), and verbs of similar meaning (Madv. 396, obs. 1).

l. 3. **quippe . . . erupturum,** a concise expression (see Introd. p. 16, § 35) of the grounds of their objection.

l. 4. **ora,** 'outlets.'

l. 6. **sociorum.** This term is the title of the Italians before they had acquired Roman citizenship, and is thus used here in referring to a worship of ancient date.

patriis, 'of their fatherland:' cp. 'abietibus patriis,' Verg. Aen. 9. 692.

l. 7. **Tiberim nolle.** The river is here personified as subject of the verb.

l. 11. c. 80. **Poppaeo Sabino,** grandfather of Poppaea, the wife of

Nero. At his death in A.D. 35, he is stated (6. 39, 3) to have governed important provinces for twenty-four years 'quod par negotiis neque supra erat.'

l. 11. **Moesia**, an important Caesarian province, fronting on the Danube, and comprising the whole of Servia and Bulgaria.

additis Achaia, etc.: see c. 76, 4. Sabinus retained these till the end of his life; but other governors of Moesia are mentioned (see 2. 66, 3; 3. 39, 1; 4. 47, 1).

l. 12. **morum**, partitive genit.: the sing. 'moris est' is frequently so used by Cicero, etc.

l. 14. **iurisdictionibus**, a term for the duties of the governor of a peaceful province. The senatorial provinces are not here spoken of; but many of the Caesarian (see Introd. p. 29) answer to this description.

causae, etc. He is himself said to have told a story of the mistaken kindness of those who drove away the gorged flies from a wounded man, and thus made room for fresh ones; to signify that, by leaving men long in a province, he hoped to make them less eager to enrich themselves.

l. 15. **alii**, sc. 'tradunt,' supplied from 'traduntur.' With 'invidia' the clause 'semel . . . servavisse' is to be again supplied; 'taedio' and 'invidia' being causal ablatives.

l. 17. **ut callidum, etc.**, 'that his decision was as irresolute as his perception was acute.' He had no difficulty in reading men's characters, but much in determining whether to trust them or not; and an absence of all dangerous qualities, like the temperament of Sabinus (see above), was hard to find.

l. 21. **quibusdam.** It is stated in a later Book (6. 27, 2, 3) that L. Arruntius and Aelius Lamia were thus kept many years in Rome, while nominally governors of Spain and Syria respectively.

l. 23. **c. 81. comitiis**, used, as in c. 15, 1, of the elections now held by the senate. The consuls for the year A.D. 16 would be the first appointed during this principate; those for A.D. 15 having been designated before the death of Augustus. With 'deinceps,' 'illo principe' is again supplied; no allusion being here made to the practice of his successors.

l. 25. **auctores**, 'the historians,' whom Tacitus usually follows. On these, and other sources of his information, see Introd. p. 2.

l. 26. **modo . . . aliquando . . . plerumque.** Three modes are here mentioned, in which Tiberius secured the election of his candidates, while seeming to leave free choice to the senate: (1) the most usual ('plerumque'), by handing in two names only to the consuls, and stating that no others had given him notice that they would offer themselves, but that any others might come forward who wished: (2) and (3), by still more informal recommendation; sometimes indicating by hints in a

speech or letter (without names) the persons whom he preferred; sometimes only intimating to his 'candidati' that they need not canvass, and leaving it apparently to them to make this known.

l. 27. **stipendia**, 'their military services.'

l. 28. **ea quoque significatione subtracta**, 'even that description being withheld.'

l. 29. **ad id**, to securing their election.

l. 34. **infensius**, 'more oppressive' (on the master's part): cp. 'intolerantior servitus,' 3. 45, 4.

THE END.

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